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OHIO BEFORE 1850

A Study of the Early Influence of Pennsylvania and Southern Populations in Ohio

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OHIO BEFORE 1850

A Study of the Early Influence of Pennsylvania and Southern Populations in Ohio

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ROBERT E. CHADDOCK

PREFACE.

THE freedom of the individual and the broad basis for democratic representative government in the United States developed not in the older states but for the first time on the extending frontier of the Middle West. The contributions made to this social movement by the early populations of Ohio from Pennsylvania and the South form the subject of this paper. In the discussion the topics are presented in the following order:

The physical environment was of fundamental importance. It reacted upon the settlers and they, in turn, became masters of material things. By this process was shaped their progress along political, religious, educational and social lines.

Of no less importance were the sources from which the streams of westward migration were rising. Those who came from New England and the coast regions of the South were leaving the conservative societies in search of more freedom or better economic opportunity. The back-country of the older states contributed a strong, aggressive, individualistic type. The new environment emphasized these same qualities. Success depended upon industry and individual initiative.

In political and social organization the pioneers from the first revealed the qualities indicated above. Aristocratic control by the territorial government was opposed. The new state constitution incorporated manhood suffrage, popular control through the legislature, and elec-

tion of local officers by the people. The settlers were loyal followers of Jefferson.

The controversy over slavery emphasized the intimate social and business relations of southern Ohio with the South. Slavery was excluded and immigration of free negroes discouraged mainly on economic grounds. Agitation against slavery was begun early in the State and was carried on by individuals and groups with little opposition until after 1830. When the friendly and business relations with the South were threatened, individual liberty and freedom of speech were suppressed in southern Ohio by social pressure and even by mob violence. With this opposition the anti-slavery forces increased.

The settlers brought their religious beliefs with them. Sects in Ohio multiplied and toleration was the rule. The right of the individual to become a dissenter was recognized. Many and interesting were the changes wrought in the organizations of the churches by the democratic environment of the frontier. Religion was compelled to adapt itself to the economic life and political ideas of the time and place.

Conduct was at first individualistic and independent. There was freedom from the conventions of older societies. But contact and relations with groups modified personal character. Social pressure was exerted to preserve the interests of the whole community.

Education began as a local interest largely in the hands of private persons or religious sects. The price of learning was persistent individual effort. Conditions of the frontier and the traditions of the settlers long rendered public instruction inefficient and inadequate. Slowly a common system for the whole State was evolved.

Coöperation at first was intermittent and narrow in

its scope. Common interests developed over wider areas and communities began to coöperate for the welfare of all. The policies of common action, when they were inaugurated, were determined not by the arbitrary control of an aristocratic class but through the forms of democratic government by the people themselves.

Thus the early settlers in Ohio are shown to have achieved a larger degree of freedom for the individual and a wider participation in affairs of government than had yet existed in the older states of the East. Incidentally the evidence shows that, important as have been the contributions of the Puritans to our character and institutions, to others must be given the credit for securing the recognition of individual liberty.

ROBERT E. CHADDOCK.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, *March 10, 1908.*

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

EARLY MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT

PAGE

1. Natural ways of communication 13
2. Centers of settlement within the Territory 14
3. Artificial ways of communication 16
   (1) Zane's road and its effects 17
   (2) The Cumberland Road and its advantages 19
4. Progress in river transportation and its significance for prosperity 21
5. Census of manufactures in 1822 22
6. Canals in Ohio and the effect upon agriculture, mining, commerce, manufacture, wealth and population 23
7. Rise of towns and cities—Cincinnati 27
8. Conclusion 29

CHAPTER II

SOURCES OF OHIO'S POPULATION BEFORE 1850

1. The frontier at the close of the 18th century 30
2. The Scotch-Irish on the frontier 31
   (1) Squatter settlers in southeastern Ohio 33
   (2) Westward movement into Ohio 33
3. The Germans on the frontier and in Ohio 34
4. The Quakers—Movement to Ohio 35
5. Influence of early military expeditions 37
6. Statistics from census of 1850—Conclusions 39
7. Evidence from county histories 42
8. The nativity of members of the Ohio legislature, representatives and senators in Congress—Conclusions 43

PAGE

CHAPTER III

Democracy and Individualism Triumphant over Federalist Ideas

1. The territorial stage of government 47
(1) Isolation and lack of unity 47
(2) Quarrels with the governor over local affairs—Dissatisfaction with centralized control 50
(3) Contrasts in southern Ohio between New England and other settlements 51
(4) System of land-holding made more democratic 54
(5) Territorial legislature established—Government still aristocratic 55
(6) Opposition to the existing régime, and agitation for statehood—Bitter controversy—Real point at issue was the principle of government 57
2. The first Ohio constitution 62
(1) The convention and the points at issue—Controlled by the Jeffersonian party—Chillicothe group of southern men and their supporters 62
(2) The constitution itself analyzed to show democratic tendencies and provisions as to franchise, legislative power, local elections, *etc.*—Comparison with Pennsylvania and Kentucky 64
3. Further developments of democracy 68
(1) Republican control of the new state government . . . 69
(2) Excessive powers of legislature and results 69
(3) States' Rights doctrine applied in Ohio 73
(4) Local government a composite system 76

CHAPTER IV

The Problem of Slavery and the Free Black Projected into Ohio

1. Controversy in the territorial stage and in the constitutional convention 78
(1) Efforts to introduce slavery—Exclusion final 78
2. Legislation as to negroes under the constitution 81
(1) Attitude of Ohio settlers toward free negroes 81
(2) Laws passed in 1803 and 1807 with purpose of limiting immigration of negroes from the South 82
(3) Laws enforced in Cincinnati in 1829—Persecution of negroes 84

PAGE

(4) State fugitive-slave law of 1839 passed at request of Kentucky 86
(5) Attitude towards negroes in constitutional convention of 1850 87
3. Growth of anti-slavery ideas before 1830 88
(1) Agitation through religious denominations, organized societies, and the press—The scheme of colonization—These movements originated in the South itself or in the border states, and early affected Ohio 88
4. More radical abolition and anti-abolition in Ohio 95
(1) Development of abolition agitation illustrated from the life of James G. Birney—Mob in Cincinnati 95
(2) Reasons for anti-abolition feeling in southern Ohio . . . 97
(3) Lane Seminary debate and secession to Oberlin 99
(4) Growth of anti-slavery societies 100
(5) Change in attitude of churches of southern Ohio 100
(6) Attitude of the state legislature toward abolition . . . 102
5. The underground railroad, and the national fugitive-slave law of 1850 103
(1) Rise of the underground system in Ohio—Results . . . 103
(2) Invasion of the liberties of Ohio citizens—State pride began to assert itself—Pressure from South 105
(3) Fugitive law of 1850 passed at insistence of South—Effect on attitude of Ohio—States' Rights asserted—Factions within state unified in opposition to slavery . 107
6. Summary and conclusion 109

CHAPTER V

Early Religious Influences in Southern Ohio

1. Introduction 111
(1) Toleration in Pennsylvania and the South 111
(2) Presbyterians—Methodists—Baptists 111
2. Introduction of religious societies into Ohio 111
3. The Kentucky revival of 1800 and its effects 114
(1) Conditions under which it started—The revival itself . . 114
(2) Effect upon the Methodist and Baptist churches 116
(3) Divisions within the Presbyterian church—The "New Lights" organized on more democratic principles—Spread of this sect in southern Ohio—The Cumberland Presbyterian sect organized 117

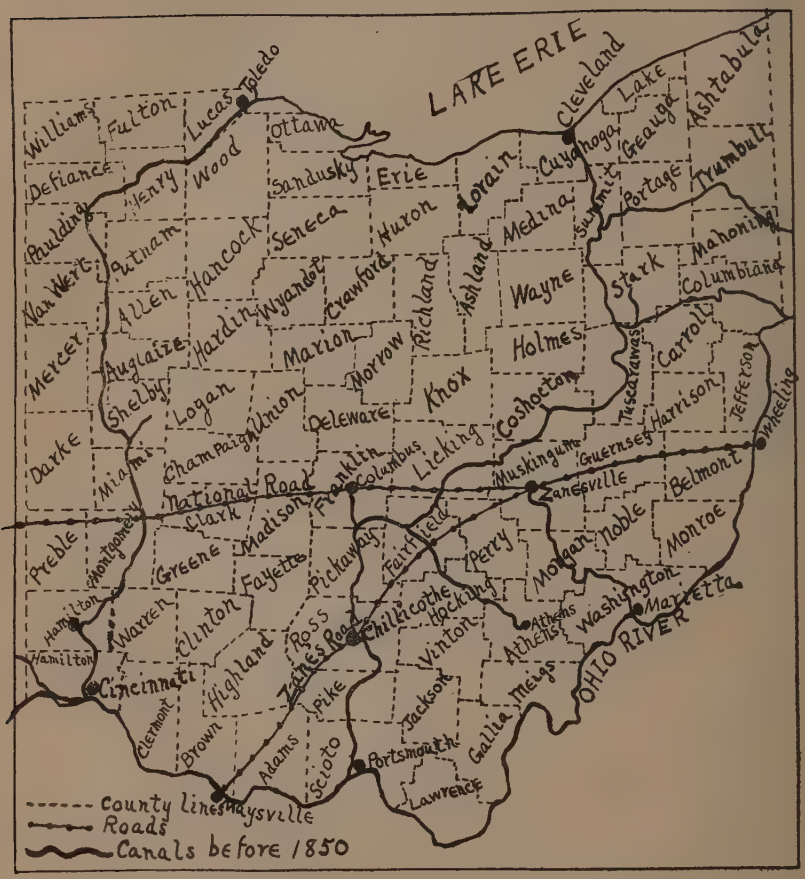
PAGE

(4) The emotionalism, characteristic of the revival, persisted in other lines of social action—Shown in Ohio in political excitement, in execution of justice, and in the slavery controversy 120
4. Further developments within the State 123
(1) Growth of the three denominations above described—The Methodists most numerous 123
(2) The Methodist Protestant church organized 124
(3) The followers of Alexander Campbell separated from the Baptist church—More democratic in organization . 124
(4) Sects in Cincinnati in 1846—Clash of creeds 126
(5) Statistics from county histories—The Census of 1850 showed relative strength of sects by counties . . . 127
(6) Conclusion 129

CHAPTER VI

Early Social Life and Education in Ohio

1. Frontier social and anti-social conduct as shown in Ohio 130
(1) Evidence of social pressure from early statutes 133
(2) Temperance considered by constitutional convention of 1850—Clause in second constitution 135
2. Education a factor in the State's progress 138
(1) Private schools, academies, and small colleges 139
(2) Development of free common schools 141
(3) Other means of education—Debate—Platform—Press . . 147
(4) Cincinnati, the center of culture in the state 147
(5) Conclusions—Letter of William E. Channing 150
3. General summaries of the chapters and conclusions 151


LAKE ERIE
Toledo
Cleveland
Lake
Ashtabula
Williams
Fulton
Lucas
Ottawa
Geauga
Defiance
Henry
Wood
Sandusky
Erie
Lorain
Cuyahoga
Trumbull
Paulding
Putnam
Seneca
Huron
Medina
Summit
Portage
Van Wert
Allen
Hancock
Wyandot
Crawford
Richland
Ashland
Wayne
Stark
Mahoning
Columbiana
Mercer
Auglaize
Hardin
Marion
Morrow
Knox
Holmes
Carroll
Shelby
Logan
Union
Delaware
Coshocton
Tuscarawas
Harrison
Jefferson
Darke
Miami
Champaign
Licking
Muskingum
Guernsey
Belmont
National Road
Franklin
Columbus
Zanesville
Clark
Madison
Fairfield
Perry
Morgan
Noble
Monroe
Preble
Montgomery
Greene
Fayette
Pickaway
Hocking
Washington
Marietta
Hamilton
Warren
Clinton
Ross
Chillicothe
Vinton
Athens
Meigs
OHIO RIVER
Cincinnati
Highland
Zanes Road
Clermont
Brown
Pike
Jackson
Adams
Scioto
Portsmouth
Gallia
Lawrence
Chillicothe
County lines
Roads
Canals before 1850

CHAPTER I

Early Material Development

Material prosperity conditions development along other lines. It is, therefore, necessary to take a brief survey of this aspect of the State's progress.

Ohio held a unique position in relation to early means of communication with the East. Over one hundred years before Marietta was settled La Salle in the "Griffin" sailed Lake Erie. Ohio had been discovered and claimed for France before the English scaled the Alleghenies. There was natural access to the West by way of the Mohawk Valley and Lake Erie but this route was closed by the hostile Indian Confederacy in New York State.

Three routes through Pennsylvania met at Pittsburg. One from Philadelphia by the west branch of the Susquehanna reached the Allegheny at Kittanning. Another, further south, was known as Forbes's Road. Still a third followed the Potomac to Fort Cumberland and thence, by Braddock's Road, crossed the divide to the Monongahela. Many Virginians came to Ohio over this road.

In 1775 Boone, with twenty woodsmen, crossed the mountains through the Cumberland Gap. Thus the "Wilderness Road," over which passed the pioneers from Virginia and North Carolina, was opened.

These routes converged upon the Ohio country. The State's northern shore was swept by the Lake; her southern was washed for five hundred miles by the great trib-

utary of the Mississippi; the streams within the state, flowing south and north, furnished navigable waters far up their courses for the early craft; and the low portages, in east, center, and west, connected the Muskingum with the Cuyahoga, the Scioto with the Sandusky, and the Miamis with the Maumee.

Within this territory were established at least five separate centers of settlement which attracted people from four distinct regions of the country. It was natural, therefore, that the early settlers should be very different in physical type, in social and religious customs, in political ideas, and in personal ideals. These differences were perpetuated in the new and long isolated settlements where were gathered, into the narrower limits, the various elements and experiences that went to make up the larger nation.

As in every new country, the pioneer was largely at the mercy of his environment. He came by the routes already marked out, felled the forests, located his cabin by stream or trail, manufactured the necessaries at home, and lived in primitive fashion isolated from his neighbors. His struggle with nature occupied all his attention for a time until progressive control over his surroundings yielded a surplus to be expended in progress.

Many daring pioneers from Pennsylvania and Virginia before 1785 planted "squatter settlements" beyond the Ohio River in the Northwest Territory.

After 1787 permanent settlement began. The second Ohio Company had purchased lands of the United States on the Muskingum river. The same year the directors of this company decided to establish a settlement on the Ohio. Under the leadership of Putnam workmen were selected and tools, wagons and horses collected. Starting from Danvers, Massachusetts, they came over the

Alleghenies to the headwaters of the Ohio. One month passed in tedious journey by wagon, and then on a boat of fifty tons burden, constructed by their own workmen, they launched on the Ohio, reaching their future home at Marietta, April 7, 1788. There were only forty-eight persons on this "Mayflower" of the West but the number of settlers had increased in 1800 to 5,000 within Washington county.

During the same year in which the Northwest Territory was opened, Symmes of New Jersey secured a large tract of land between the Miamis. From his home he carried thirty colonists in wagons across the mountains to Maysville, Kentucky, and thence by boat dropped down to the site of Cincinnati. Here, opposite the mouth of the Licking and where the great Indian trail crossed the Ohio, the future metropolis was founded. The fertile agricultural region back of Cincinnati rapidly filled with settlers from New Jersey, Pennsylvania and the South.

Between the Scioto and the Miamis, and stretching far inland, Virginia had reserved 6,570 square miles of territory with which to reward her war veterans. The settlement of this area projected Virginia, Kentucky and North Carolina into the midst of the Territory along the river courses mentioned. Chillicothe became the chief center, laid out by Nathaniel Massie and settled rapidly by the incoming pioneers from the South.

Meanwhile Connecticut had retained a reserve in the northeastern part of Ohio. To this section of the State, as to Marietta, New England settlers came bringing their institutions and traditions with them. In 1796 Moses Cleveland headed a party of fifty-two persons whose task it was to survey the Reserve. Their route of travel was by way of Buffalo and Lake Erie, landing at Conneaut, and finally reaching the site of Cleveland which was to

become, a half-century later, the great industrial and commercial center of the northern part of the State. Settlement in this region, however, was so slow that by 1800 only 1300 people resided on the whole Reserve, covering the area of several counties, as now divided. The northern route was not used extensively by migrating settlers until after the War of 1812 and the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825.

The "Seven Ranges," located in southeastern Ohio, bordering on the river, were soon fast filling from Pennsylvania and Virginia as the hardy pioneer stock of Germans and Scotch-Irish pressed forward.

Thus came the early settlers to these five isolated centers, bringing with them the heritage peculiar to the region from which they came.

Four of these centers we have described, bordered the River which gave them access to each other and to the outside world. The settlers soon turned their attention to the construction of artificial means of communication both within and outside the State. Then would they be enabled to penetrate the interior, away from river and trail. The first continuous road through the State was "Zane's Trace," passing from Wheeling, on the boundary between Virginia and Ohio, in a southwesterly direction to a point opposite Maysville, Kentucky, on the Ohio River. The Zanes had founded Wheeling in 1770, a strategic point in the valley because of its advantages for trade with the interior. Here the pioneer multitude coming from the East might diverge from the water-route and keep on across the interior of Ohio if only a road could be opened. The bargemen too who floated down from Pittsburg to Kentucky and the Mississippi country often sold their boats rather than toil back against the currents of the river, and returned by land

across the State. The government had opened a river mail service from Pittsburg to Cincinnati in 1794 but it proved very dangerous and unsatisfactory. An overland route was needed because the settlers had pushed up the tributary streams fifty miles from the Ohio, and these settlements must be connected by a great through highway in order to open up what was then the garden spot of the State.

Accordingly in 1796 the government authorized the Zanes by Act of Congress to begin work on this road. By clearing away trees and undergrowth it was soon opened for pack animals but the first team did not pass over it from Maysville to Chillicothe until two years later. Thereafter by this road the merchant passed every spring to and from the East. His goods, purchased in the East, were conveyed by wagon to Pittsburg and brought down the Ohio River at an expense of from three to five dollars per hundred pounds. Soon corduroys were laid and the road widened to accommodate the traffic of immigrants from East and South. Along it passed the main land traffic through Ohio for a quarter of a century.

Zane's road became a prime factor in Ohio's development. It determined the location of homes, taverns and villages. Where it crossed the Muskingum by ferry, Zanesville grew up, at first only a keeper of the ferry and a few families as a nucleus, later a thriving town, and finally, with the growth of prosperity due to its location, one of the most prosperous centers of trade and industry in the State. Where the road crossed the Hocking, Lancaster was founded, while at the ferry over the Scioto the town of Chillicothe became the center of activity for the Virginia Military Lands and one of the early seats of State government. Between these places sprang up

numerous taverns for the entertainment of travelers. Around these were soon grouped a few pioneer cabins, and a village presently became a place to exchange news and a center of life for the surrounding community.

In like manner came the pioneers into Muskingum county. Thus also from Kentucky came the first settler into Pickaway county. Highland county received its first pioneer over the same route. The first arrivals in Fairfield county came from Kentucky but soon mingled with others coming, in ever-increasing numbers, from Virginia and Pennsylvania by this common means of approach to the interior. Family after family, coming from different regions, thus settled side by side in the country of their choice. Post-offices were soon established at Lancaster and Zanesville. The inland counties increased rapidly in wealth and population. In 1815 Ross county had 18,000 inhabitants, and was only excelled by the river county of Hamilton.

The grouping of the population with reference to ways of access is shown also in the division of the territory into counties during the period previous to statehood. Of the nine counties then formed, one bordered on Lake Erie, six bordered the Ohio river, and two occupied the south-central portion of the state, on Zane's Road and the Scioto river.

With the growth of trade between the rapidly developing agricultural West and the eastern markets, there appeared the great need for a well-built turnpike from the coast to this great storehouse in the interior. Washington had seen, as early as 1774, that the trade of this valuable western country was about to slip away down the river to the Spaniards. He at once advocated opening ways of communication between East and West as a "link in the chain of union." For these reasons,

therefore, provision was made, when Ohio was admitted into the Union, that a five per cent fund, derived from the sale of public lands within the State, should be set aside for the building of roads. It was later decided that three per cent be used for common highways in the various counties of the state, and the other two per cent be employed in the construction of a great national highway from tidewater to Ohio. By 1805 a considerable sum had already accumulated for this latter enterprise. Routes were considered by a committee, the one from Cumberland to Wheeling was recommended, and Congress authorized this first internal improvement on a large scale. The work was begun in 1811 and Ohio had accomplished its aim. The pike was completed to the Ohio River at Wheeling in 1818. Thus was afforded connection with the steamers now plying on the river and with the overland route through the State by way of Zane's Road. The land route was now complete between the East and the fertile eastern Mississippi Valley.

Hosts of emigrants were en route toward the West. Cabins beside the Pike became taverns, villages became cities as the tide of population moved forward. During a single generation the population of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, through which the road finally extended, increased to over three and a half millions. The Cumberland National Road became the "nation's highway."

Wealth and comforts were more generally diffused as a result of the opening of better communication. In 1822 six business houses in Wheeling unloaded over 6,000 wagons averaging 3,500 lbs. each. It was estimated that every tenth wagon passed on into the interior of Ohio. These freighters carried back to the East flour, whiskey, hemp, tobacco, bacon and wool. Before the road was completed to Wheeling the trip took four

weeks from Baltimore and the freight rate varied from three to eight dollars per hundred pounds; in 1832 freight was carried at one-half the cost and in one-half the time on the Cumberland Road. This meant for the farmer of the West a profitable market for his surplus and so gave him an incentive to produce more.

Mail came in eight days from Baltimore before the road was opened; in 1832 it came by stage to Wheeling in forty-eight hours. In 1837, four years after the road was finished to Columbus, Ohio, the government required by contract that the trip be made from Washington to Columbus, Ohio, in forty-five and a half hours and to Wheeling in thirty hours. The trip could be made from Wheeling to Cincinnati in forty-eight hours which was faster than the packet on the river. In 1835 stages left Columbus daily for Wheeling, Springfield and Cincinnati, while those going north made the trip to Cleveland, Sandusky, Mt. Vernon and Norwalk every second day. There was also a daily line of mail coaches directly south to Chillicothe, connecting there with lines from Kentucky. Thus the net-work of roads was extending over the State and the facilities of stage-coach and tavern promoted travel and tended to draw the State together as a unit. Mobility of population in the end was sure to modify the sectionalism that was inevitable as long as the settlements remained isolated.

The Cumberland Road was a powerful factor in directing the flow of population. It was exactly in line with the rising westward movement from Pennsylvania through central Ohio; it was also used by settlers from Maryland and Virginia who were coming in ever-increasing numbers; and it connected with the head-waters of the Ohio so that travelers could complete their journey to the chosen settlement by water. The consequence

for Ohio was to divide the stream of immigrants, directing one along the southern boundary by river as before and guiding the other directly across the State. The southern and central counties rapidly increased their population and prosperity as a result.

Progress in river transportation also had great influence upon the State's prosperity. In the West, North and South were drawn early together by mutual trade relations. Before 1800 keel-boats and barges, moved by oars and poles and sometimes by sails, made but two trips to New Orleans in a whole year, carrying from fifty to one hundred tons burden. The early freight rates on the river were almost prohibitive, especially for bulky articles and those not absolutely necessary. Besides, the New Orleans demand was easily satisfied and the cargo, even if it arrived safely, might prove a drug on the market. Naturally, when the farmers of the Northwest Territory produced a surplus of grain they either converted it into flour or whiskey in order to reduce its bulk for shipment to the southern market. In return from New Orleans were brought supplies of groceries, lead and cotton.

The advent of the steamboat on western waters in 1811 marked a new era in river transportation. The time for the return trip from New Orleans was reduced to a mere fraction of what it had been before. Much larger vessels were constructed and the abundance of lumber and iron made ship-building profitable along the Ohio River. Rates on freight were reduced and the incentive to produce a surplus, in both agriculture and manufactures, was greatly increased. This revolution in river transportation came at the same time that the National Road reduced the land transportation rates to the East. This was especially fortunate for the southern part of the State because it enabled producers to com-

bine the road and river transportation to and from the East, as well as supply the South with a part of their surplus. Prosperity increased and wealth accumulated especially in those counties which had ready access to the chief routes of travel, but many parts of the interior of the State had as yet no adequate outlet for any surplus they could produce. The land was very fertile but why produce when the wheat must rot for want of a market? Better communication was needed by a system of canals which would reach the interior counties and make available their rich resources.

The first United States Census of Manufactures was issued in 1822. The statistics indicate that manufacture was still carried on mainly in the frontier homes. But in most of the counties there were a few staple articles manufactured in centers devoted to that purpose. The factory system was beginning to take the place of the home handicrafts, but the capital invested was still very small. Flour, whiskey, leather and lumber were widely produced, while woolen goods, iron products, salt, paper and packing products were confined to specific localities. This is as we should expect, for grain, being a widely distributed crop, was generally converted into flour or whiskey for shipment. Lumber was abundant and could easily be conveyed to the mills along the streams or down the Ohio. Leather was a common necessity for footwear and harness, and the raw material was close at hand. The manufacture of woolen goods and iron products was carried on in places where there was access to a supply of the raw materials, to the water-power to run the mills, and to a market for the finished products.

An examination as to what counties had the most capital invested in manufactures in 1822, showed that Muskingum county had over a half million. This county

contained the thriving town of Zanesville, and was well situated both as to river and land transportation and the sources of raw materials. Hamilton county, with Cincinnati as its chief town, needs no explanation to account for its large capital in manufacture. Ross county came next, located on the Scioto river and Zane's Road. Scioto, Washington and Jefferson counties were all located on the Ohio and thus accessible to markets East and South. The counties in the rich Miami valley had the best early water and road connections in the state, and were tributary to Cincinnati, where their trade found an outlet to the Ohio River. The towns having the most population, as well as the best facilities, had of course the most capital invested in manufactures, *i. e.*, Cincinnati, Zanesville and Chillicothe.

It must be remembered that the tariffs of 1816, 1824, 1828 and 1832, promoted manufactures in Ohio and rendered a more extended market for products necessary. The extension of the slave system in the South and the specialized production on the cotton plantations produced a market for food supplies and manufactured goods from the Ohio Valley. The very expansion of slave labor in the South made possible the extension of free labor in the North. The financial interests of both regions seemed thus to be harmonized and the steamboat was the connecting link.

In 1825 the Erie Canal opened the northern route to the East and made New York City the depository for the products of the West. This made possible the development of commerce on Lake Erie and the opening of a canal system within the State of Ohio, a means of communication long needed by the interior. Between 1830 and 1850 the state and private companies constructed 1000 miles of canals in Ohio, connecting Lake Erie and

the River by two continuous routes, the eastern one with termini at Cleveland on the Lake and Portsmouth on the Ohio, the western route leaving the Lake at Toledo and reaching the Ohio at Cincinnati. Thus thirty-seven counties of the State were actually reached and many more so closely connected as to reap almost equal benefits.

Agriculture, mining, commerce and manufacture were promoted; the State's population and wealth increased rapidly; the prices of labor and products were higher: the State became more a unit than ever before, and finally trade and manufacture began to concentrate at certain populous centers where facilities were greatest, giving rise to important towns and cities.

In 1850 Ohio stood third among the States of the Union in the cash value of her farms, and had become a chief source of supply of animal products for the East and South.

Cincinnati had developed into the chief packing center of all the West, and retained that position until 1860 when Chicago became the successful rival. The rich farming region of the Miami and Scioto valleys furnished the raw materials. Cattle and hogs were no longer driven to the markets of the East, but were killed at home and transported by canal and river to the East and throughout the Mississippi Valley. Other smaller packing centers were developed at Columbus, Chillicothe, Circleville and Hamilton, each on the canals. The census figures for 1850 showed thirty-three counties in the state with farms and improvements in each valued at five millions or more. Of these, eighteen were situated on canals, one on Lake Erie and four on the Ohio River. The county of Hamilton in the southwestern part of the state exceeded all others with seventeen and one-half millions

in farms and improvements, because of its superior location and means of communication by canal and river.

Mills were built along the canal banks for the manufacture of woolen and cotton yarn and cloth, for grinding wheat into flour, and for the manufacture of lumber products. By 1840 the annual value of products from grist and saw mills was almost nine millions, and in 1850 the value of cotton and woolen products had reached one and one-half millions.

Immense crops of corn, together with developing transportation facilities, increased the manufacture of liquors, especially in the region of Cincinnati. In 1850 three and one-half million bushels of corn were thus transformed. The aggregate product was four million gallons of ale and twelve million gallons of whiskey and wines.

The canals brought about the early development of the salt supply in the counties of the southeastern part of the state and permitted the opening of the coal mines by offering cheap transportation. The production of coal alone amounted to eight million bushels in 1850. Iron manufacture was stimulated by the improved transportation which made it possible to secure the raw materials and ship cheaply the bulky products.

In 1822 the total capital invested in manufactures was four million dollars; in 1850 it had grown to twenty-eight millions. The canal counties owned a much larger proportion of this capital than the non-canal counties. Hamilton county, as we should expect, ranked first, with at least one-fourth of the total.

In the period from 1833 to 1860 the grand totals of arrivals at the four great terminals of the canals, *i. e.*, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo and Portsmouth, were as follows:—

Wheat	45,754,761 bu.	Pork	2,005,520 bbl.
Corn	52,188,288 bu.	Whiskey	1,598,845 bbl.
Oats	789,941 bu.	Coal	50,341,268 bu.
Flour	16,044,077 bbl.	Pork (bulk)	51,147,004 lbs.[1]

The above statement refers to outward bound trade only, and includes merely a few of the main items of the canal traffic. It does not give any idea of the traffic between local points on the canals within the State. During this same period there cleared from the same terminals 585,014,816 pounds of merchandise bound inland. Thus the canals gave access to markets both within and outside the State. As compared with the rate of transportation by wagon, the charges by canal were not more than one-fifth as great. This meant a saving to the settlers on what they had to import as well as more income from the exports. For many regions of the interior the canals furnished the first incentive to produce a surplus for sale.

The canals stimulated industry, developed the great resources of the state, increased the value of land and property along their courses and invited new capital. Reference to the valuation of property on the tax lists, while not an accurate index of the real values at two different periods, still affords a basis for comparison. The total valuation in 1825 was fifty-nine and one-half millions, but in 1850 it had grown to four hundred and forty millions and showed an annual increment, from 1840 to 1850, of thirty millions. Extending our view to 1860 when the canals had served their greatest purpose, and comparing the thirty-seven canal counties with the fifty-one others, we find the valuation of the canal counties comprised about fifty-five per cent of the whole. If we compare the excess in wealth of these same counties

[1] *History of the Ohio Canals*, (1905), p. 133. Published by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

at the opening of the canal period and in 1860 we find that the excess of the canal counties had increased over five-fold.[1] But many of the counties were so near the lines of communication as to reap almost equal benefits, so if we divide the counties on this basis into two equal groups of forty-four each, and compare them in the same manner as above, the canal and adjoining counties show a very much greater gain. Of course, individual counties show a still more striking result.[2]

In 1850, the population, stimulated by the opening of the canals and the growth of prosperity, had increased to almost two million. The average density of the whole state in 1840 was thirty-seven plus, while that of the twenty-nine counties then touched by the canals was forty-five. This difference between the canal and non-canal counties was more marked in 1850. During the period from 1830 to 1850, when the canals were in their prime, the population increased by 1,042,426, an increase greater than during any other twenty years in Ohio's history.

The inland city is at first a distributing center, collecting produce from and sending out merchandise to the surrounding community. Therefore, before such centers can attain any great importance the tributary country must be developed, and ways of communication must be established both with the interior and the outside world. As population increases the growing center must secure labor, capital and raw materials, to which must be added power by water, steam or electricity, if it is to become a manufacturing town. The canals in Ohio added greatly to the sources of motive power, and mills were built in great numbers along their banks. When the introduction of steam displaced water-power, to a large extent,

[1] *Cf. History of the Ohio Canals*, pp. 122–124. [2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 124–125.

and facilitated the concentration of manufactures in centers with the best shipping facilities, it was still necessary to use the canals to transport the coal used for fuel to these towns, as well as to send out the products. In 1830, at the opening of the canal period, Cincinnati was the only city with more than 3,000 population; but in 1850 the same towns, which had from 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants in 1830, had from 3,000 to 18,000. Of the twenty-two largest towns of the State, fourteen were on canals, four on the Lake, and four on the Ohio River. The interior towns had grown up largely along the canals at places where products were to be shipped or commodities distributed; where storage houses were to be built and markets established. In these centers laborers were employed in greater numbers, and if power and raw materials could be had manufacturing also soon developed.

The largest cities in the United States are located on sea-coast, lake or river. Of these Ohio has two, Cleveland on Lake Erie and Cincinnati on the Ohio. The latter city had from the first taken the lead in the Ohio valley because of its location. Situated midway between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi river, and on the border between North and South, at the junction of canal and river, with 1000 miles of the best turnpikes in the State converging upon it, in close proximity to the grain and live-stock produced in the rich Miami valley, the city was destined to become a trading and manufacturing center of the first importance.

In 1848, 500,000 hogs were packed in the city and the products, valued at about eight millions, were distributed over the Mississippi valley. The name Porkopolis was sometimes applied to the city because of these extensive packing interests. In 1850 the total value of iron products was about six millions. In 1851 the city em-

ployed 30,000 men in all branches of its manufacturing, turning out a product valued at fifty-three and a-half millions. At the same time its wholesale and retail trade in dry-goods, groceries, hardware, iron, crockery, glass, *etc.*, amounted to thirty-six millions. Its receipts by river, canal and railroad in 1847 were valued at fifty-one millions, while its exports amounted to almost fifty-six millions. Much of the city's trade was with the South, so that when the struggle over slavery became more intense, Cincinnati's financial interests were on the side of harmony and compromise.

In 1850 Cincinnati had 115,000 population drawn from all parts of the United States and many parts of Europe. Her only rival in the West was New Orleans. There were 30,799 persons living in the county who had been born in other states of the Union. Of the European immigrants who had arrived in Ohio before 1850, Hamilton county had received almost one-third. They came to work in the shops or packing industries because here were the busiest center and the highest wages.

Thus had the State developed its material resources during the first half-century. The settler was gradually acquiring control over nature. The harsh struggle with the environment had created a vigorous and independent type which had already asserted its superiority in business enterprise and shown political influence in the councils of the Nation. Men were accumulating a surplus of wealth to be devoted to better ways of doing things and to the development of other activities than those of simply making a livelihood, as the early pioneer had done. The environment emphasized the qualities already well-developed in most of the settlers coming into Ohio and helped to produce men of action, individual resource and initiative, great soldiers, great statesmen and captains of industry.

CHAPTER II

Sources of Ohio's Population Before 1850

In discussing the settlement of the Northwest Territory perhaps too much importance has been given by local historians to particular places, for instance to Marietta and Cleveland, whose founders came from New England, and to Cincinnati, which was settled from New Jersey and Kentucky. The settlement of Ohio was a part of the westward movement of population seeking more freedom or better economic opportunity. Settlers came from several different states with varied ideals and traditions.

At the close of the 18th century the western border extended southward from western New England through New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas. It was difficult to cross the ranges from east to west, but comparatively easy to follow the valleys of the ranges running north and south. The backwoods people had opportunity to become a physical and cultural type distinct from the people of the coast regions and extending across political boundaries.[1]

The trend of the valleys guided many of the early inhabitants of Pennsylvania to the back-country of the South. Throughout this whole region many were of the same blood and most were endowed with the same fearless spirit and sturdy independence. Calhoun's grandparents lived in Pennsylvania, and there also Daniel

[1] *Cf.* Ellen Churchill Semple, *American History and its Geographical Conditions*, p. 62.

Boone spent a part of his youth. Thence he moved to North Carolina and afterwards opened up the way over the "Wilderness Road" to Kentucky. This is typical of the route that many followed into Kentucky and the Northwest Territory. Western Virginia, including Kentucky, had 190,000 population when the settlers came to found Marietta in Ohio.

The Scotch-Irish.—Driven by intolerable oppression and animated with the desire for better opportunity, the Scotch-Irish crossed the ocean in great numbers during the 18th century. In 1718 several hundred came to Boston but were not permitted to remain. Some of them attempted to erect a church at Worcester, Massachusetts, but the Puritans destroyed it. The intolerance of the coast regions from the first forced them to the frontiers where they formed a barrier against the Indians. Many went to New York, New Jersey and the South, but the greatest numbers sought Pennsylvania, because there they hoped not only for economic freedom, but for personal and religious freedom as well. Logan, the Secretary of the Province, in 1724 described them as having occupied the southern part of the state towards the Maryland line, and called them "bold and indigent strangers." Five years later the Secretary expressed the fear that "if they continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the province." In 1730 he again speaks of them, this time complaining that they had taken possession of 15,000 acres of land reserved for the Penns, alleging as they took possession that "it was against the laws of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on."[1] Here was exhibited the

[1] Charles A. Hanna, *Historical Collections of Harrison County* (1900), pp. 15–16.

spirit of democratic equality and opposition to aristocracy, especially landed aristocracy, with which they had had such bitter experience. The Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania was no doubt in part at least a Scotch-Irish protest against government interference and an expression of native independence and desire for self-government.

In 1750 the population of Virginia was reported as "growing every day more numerous by the migration [*sic*] of the Irish who, not succeeding so well in Pennsylvania as the Germans, sell their lands in the province and take up new ground." [1]

In 1785 the Scotch Presbyterians in Virginia entered heartily into the reforms sought by Jefferson. They signed a petition of 10,000 names to aid in securing a bill granting religious freedom. Having been oppressed by a religious aristocracy as well as by the landlord, they hated such power in the hands of one man or a class. The descendants of these men passed on westward as the frontier extended, and in the early nineteenth century kept up the struggle for individual liberty until in the Middle West the great democratic movement led by Andrew Jackson secured recognition in the political life of the Nation.

At the close of the Revolution the Scotch-Irish were entering southwestern Pennsylvania in large numbers and in 1790 the population of the four counties in this part of the state was 63,000, a large majority of whom were Scotch-Irish.[2] Thousands had moved on by land or river into Kentucky before the Northwest Territory was open for settlement.

[1] Francis A. Walker, "The First Century of the Republic," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, vol. li, p. 410.

[2] *Cf.* Charles A. Hanna, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Ten years before Marietta was founded by the New Englanders, the enterprising pioneers of western Pennsylvania and Virginia crossed the River and established settlements. In 1785 there were more people living in Ohio than formed the first permanent colony in 1788. They were driven off and their cabins destroyed by United States troops because they were trespassers. They banded together to resist this interference on the part of the government but, on a grant of a few days' time, retired peaceably, to return later when the region was formally opened for settlement.[1] This illustrates very well how this restless, pioneer people was always found in the advance of the westward movement.

Early in the nineteenth century the slave-holding aristocracy of the coast regions of the South began to dominate the back-country population and to extend the system of slave labor farther to the West. The farming class of the interior began to be displaced by the planter. Many small farmers preferred to avoid the competition with slave labor so they moved on into Kentucky and then across the Ohio River. It was, then, the poorer, more democratic, non-slaveholding class of the South which furnished the bulk of the southern settlers north of the Ohio river. Many of them were strongly opposed to slavery and all were interested in bettering their own economic condition.[2]

The influence of this Scotch-Irish stock in southern Ohio was very marked. They brought with them their religion; they asserted their ideas of individual freedom and economic independence, and they supported the political principles of Jefferson and the rising democracy.

[1] *Cf.* Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–53 for details.

[2] *Cf.* Frederick J. Turner, *Rise of the New West* (1906), pp. 54 and 77.

Mr. Hanna publishes a letter, dated Feb. 14, 1813, from Walter B. Beebe, a young lawyer of Harrison county in the southeastern part of the State, to his parents in Massachusetts, in which he describes the people of his own and adjoining counties as having come largely from Virginia and Pennsylvania. They were mainly Germans and Scotch-Irish and were "more litigious and quarrelsome than Yankees."[1]

Very many of Ohio's prominent statesmen, soldiers, jurists, clergymen, educators and men of affairs in the early days of the State's history belonged to this stock, and as a whole the Scotch-Irish played an important part in transforming the wilderness and creating a new commonwealth.[2]

The Germans.—German immigration into Pennsylvania began in the latter part of the 17th century. During the first quarter of the 18th century larger numbers were forced to flee from the states along the Rhine. They sought refuge in Pennsylvania, where they were promised religious and economic freedom. It is estimated by Proud in his history of the state that in 1776 the Germans and Swiss formed about one-third of the population of Pennsylvania,[3] Even as early as 1726, Logan, the Secretary of the Province, wrote, "We shall soon have a German colony, so many thousands of Palatines are already in the country."[4]

They sought the free land as the Scotch-Irish had done. They too had experienced the hand of oppression and were seeking individual freedom in religion and

[1] *Cf.* Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–108.

[2] *Cf.* Hanna, *op. cit.*, p. 3 for list of names of these men.

[3] *History of Pennsylvania* (1798), vol. ii, p. 273. Also *cf.* Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–37 for numbers.

[4] Francis A. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

government. They were industrious, thrifty and intelligent. Following the valleys towards the south, they entered Maryland, western Virginia and Kentucky in large numbers. They mingled with the Scotch-Irish to form the pioneer back-country population, from which the early westward streams of migration were rising. Many of them passed from Pennsylvania into Ohio, settling the central and eastern counties where they contributed much to the material prosperity of the State by their thrift and industry. Many came to Cincinnati also because of the industrial opportunities there. They brought their religious beliefs and social traditions along with them. They were fitting material from which to develop a western democratic society.

The Quakers.—The Puritan intolerance displayed itself during the seventeenth century in the treatment of the Quakers. This was followed by the founding of the Quaker colony in Pennsylvania in 1681, where those who had been spurned in New England found refuge.

The Quakers in Virginia and the Carolinas fared little better. Zealous for religious freedom, they took the lead in the struggle for toleration during the first half the eighteenth century, as the Presbyterians did in the second half. They had already become the largest organized body of Dissenters in these southern colonies. They were persecuted in Virginia and disfranchised in the Carolinas. They began the fight which Jefferson carried to a successful conclusion in 1776. In North Carolina this sect struggled not only for religious but also for political rights.[1]

The Quakers early protested against slavery in the

[1] *Cf.* Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, extra vol. xv, pp. 145–170.

South, freed their own slaves and sought to persuade others to do the same. Soon after 1800 this protest took the form of migration toward the free soil of the Northwest. These men formed the middle and lower ranks of society and had owned few slaves at any time. Many for economic reasons accompanied the Quakers on their westward migration. The mother of Edwin Stanton came from Virginia to Ohio with a Quaker family.[1] Quakers left the South by hundreds, coming from Virginia direct to Ohio and from the Carolinas by way of Kentucky into the region north of the Ohio River. Many came first to western Pennsylvania and later into Ohio. Some Meetings in Virginia were so depleted by migration as to be given up altogether, and in 1800 one entire Meeting migrated from Jones county in North Carolina to the Concord Monthly Meeting in Ohio. In the latter case they gave slavery and oppression as reasons for their coming.[2] In 1805, it is estimated, not less than 800 families of Quakers from these regions had migrated to Ohio.[3]

Weeks attempts to summarize the results of his investigations as to the movement of Quakers from the South before 1860. His figures, however, do not include women and children, but stand for only the heads of families, or single persons who took certificates from their home to the new country in the West. Many went without certificates to places where there was no Quaker Meeting, and many of the records were imperfect or inaccessible, so that the figures he gives are much below the actual numbers. Nevertheless, his summary

[1] *Cf.* Weeks, *op. cit.*, p. 280, footnote.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 256–259. See letter by Borden Stanton.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

does show that a large number of Quakers came to Ohio from Virginia during the early years of the last century, and a smaller number from the Carolinas.[1] The records of the Miami Monthly Meeting in Ohio showed that about 1200 were received by certificate during 1804–1806 from Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Tennessee. The chief centers in the State were at Concord, Miami, Short Creek, Stillwater, Springborough, Plainfield, Fairfield, Center and Salem. As early as 1801 the governor, in his annual message to the legislature, noted the fact that many Quakers had lately come to the State and characterized them as industrious, sober and moral people, a valuable acquisition to any country. On his recommendation they were allowed to pay a money equivalent for military service in the militia.[2] During the struggle over slavery they were found on the side of the slave. To him they were ready to render practical aid in his attempts to escape from his master.

Influence of Early Military Expeditions. One of the most important influences in directing attention toward the Ohio country and in spreading more definite information about it among the border population was the constant need, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, for sending expeditions into the region beyond the Ohio to repel the hostile Indian attacks against the frontier settlements. In the early days the power to hold the new country came from the sturdy and fearless backwoodsmen of western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky. Before 1780 these expeditions, crossing the Ohio time after time, had succeeded in driving the red

[1] *Cf.* Weeks, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–270. Table of certificates issued and received.

[2] *Cf.* Jacob Burnet, *Notes on Northwestern Territory* (1847), p. 328.

men from eastern and southern Ohio back to the headwaters of the Scioto and Miami. The savage looked with jealous eye upon the advance of the whites and lost no chance to strike a deadly blow at his enemy. In the days of the Revolution, Colonel Clark with the help of his trusty pioneer followers from Virginia and Kentucky held this western country for the New Republic.

Marietta and Cincinnati both grew up under the protection of a fortress. More aggressive action soon became necessary as the settlers pushed on into the interior of the state. So in 1789–90 General Harmar collected troops at Cincinnati and, cutting his way through forests, advanced against the Indians as far as the headwaters of the Miami where he burned their crops and scattered their villages. But he simply angered without subduing them. Another expedition was necessary and St. Clair set out the next year from Cincinnati with a body of men largely recruited from the frontier. His object was to establish a line of forts to the Maumee as a matter of self-defense. He had erected Forts Hamilton, St. Clair and Jefferson on his advance when he met with complete defeat at the hands of the Indians, and his retreating army left the route open for the renewed attacks of the now emboldened foe. It remained for Anthony Wayne, himself a Scotch-Irish Pennsylvanian, with his well-organized frontier army, to accomplish what St. Clair had failed to do. Through him was secured the peace of Greenville in 1794, and thereafter the settlers were comparatively free from attacks.

Duncan MacArthur, who later became governor of Ohio, was a lieutenant under Wayne in 1794. He was Scotch-Irish, of the same blood later used so effectively by Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. It is evident from the records of county histories that

many of the men engaged in these expeditions, having received a favorable impression of the opportunities offered in the new country, came afterwards to settle permanently in Ohio. Such a man was John Riley, born in North Carolina, but active in all these frontier struggles. He moved into Kentucky, and then into Ohio, becoming a member of Ohio's first constitutional convention in 1802.[1] Colonel John McDonald, a typical settler of Ross county, spent his early life on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky and served as a scout under Wayne in 1794. He was one of the "squatter settlers" in Ohio in 1785 and when driven out went to Kentucky, and later came north into the Virginia Military District of Ohio.[2]

It must not be forgotten in this connection that Virginia had reserved a large tract in Ohio especially to reward her veterans who had served in the struggle for Independence and exhausted their fortunes in the cause of liberty. The War of 1812 also caused bodies of troops from Pennsylvania and the South to pass to and fro over Ohio soil, thus making men from outside the State more familiar with its resources. Many of them, after the war, returned to Ohio to found permanent homes within the State. The great westward movement had then begun in earnest.

Statistics. Official census figures relating to the population coming into Ohio from Pennsylvania and the South were not taken until 1850, at the very close of the period we are considering. In this year the inhabitants born in other states but living in Ohio were tabulated

[1] *Cf.* Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 469–478. *Cf.* James McBride, *Pioneer Biography*, 2 vols., Cincinnati (1869). Other examples.

[2] *Cf.* Isaac Finley and Rufus Putnam, *Pioneer Record of Ross County*, pp. 47–52. See other examples also.

and they present an interesting study. Pennsylvania had furnished over 200,000, more than twice as many as any other state and several times as many as all New England together. Taking the seven states which furnished the largest numbers, we find that, out of a total of a little less than a half-million from these states, Pennsylvania furnished forty-three per cent; Virginia eighteen per cent; New York seventeen per cent; Maryland eight per cent; New Jersey five per cent; Connecticut five per cent; and Massachusetts four per cent.[1] It will be observed from these percentages that Massachusetts and Connecticut together furnished just half as many as Virginia and about one-fifth as many as Pennsylvania.

The lines of migration were still converging from the eastern and southern states upon the fertile Ohio Valley. The total population in the State at this period was a little less than two million, so that by far the larger number had been born on Ohio soil. Very many of the first settlers had died before the census of 1850, leaving children as natives of Ohio but influenced by the ideas and traditions of their fathers. An even larger percentage of these could trace their ancestry to Pennsylvania and the South in the previous generation. It is therefore evident that the figures are not an accurate index of the relative proportions of the very early settlers from the various older states. There are other sources of information on this point but, before we pass to an examination of them, another significant fact is revealed by the census figures already before us. They show that during the twenty-year period before 1850 Virginia had increased only about seventeen per cent in population, New York

[1] Figures used as basis found in United States Census for 1850, table xv. These seven states furnished about eighty-seven per cent of all those born in other states, but living in Ohio in 1850.

sixty-one per cent, Pennsylvania seventy-one per cent, while Ohio had increased one hundred and ten per cent.[1] Of course there were various reasons why population should not increase so rapidly in Virginia. Chief among them was her system of slavery, but certainly the next great cause, and one due in part to this very slave system, was the migration toward the West and Northwest. During the period, New York and Pennsylvania were receiving great additions of foreign immigrants to swell their natural increase; consequently the fact that they were pouring a constant stream of people into Ohio and the West did not decrease their percentage of increase so much. Ohio's rapid relative increase shows the state to have been the meeting place of the population from many states.

In 1850 there were about a quarter of a million persons from outside the United States living in Ohio, of which Hamilton county with Cincinnati had almost one-third. These were chiefly German and Irish.

The other available sources must now be examined to determine, if possible, whence came the earliest settlers of the State, and in what proportions from the different states. It is necessary to remember here that the westward movement along parallels of latitude did not begin on a large scale until after the War of 1812. The northern route was not free until that war was over, and indeed until the Erie Canal was opened and lake traffic began to develop on a large scale. With the coming of

[1] *Cf. Twelfth Census, Population*, pt. i, table vii. Gives the bases from which the percentages are calculated.

	1830.	*1850.*
Ohio	937,903	1,980,329
Pennsylvania	1,348,233	2,311,786
Virginia	1,211,405	1,421,661
New York	1,918,608	3,097,394

the steamboat and a system of canals, the prosperity of northern Ohio, which had developed slowly up to this time (1825), was assured. As a result of the lack of early means of communication by the Lake route, persons coming westward often moved into Pennsylvania or New York from New England, and after a generation moved onward. In contrast, the direct route through Pennsylvania and that by way of the Wilderness Road were early open to the westward-moving population.

County historians have made attempts to gather information as to the sources of the early settlers in each county and the records of land entries furnish some valuable information. It is suggestive to tabulate the results found in the collections of Mr. Howe, corrected and supplemented by other separate county histories.[1] Taking the very early pioneers of each county as divided in 1847, when the number of counties was eighty-three, it appears that Pennsylvania was represented among these earliest settlers in forty-one per cent of the counties; Virginia in twenty-seven per cent; all New England in twenty-four per cent; Kentucky in eighteen per cent; New Jersey in seven per cent, and Maryland in six per cent. These percentages are incomplete and subject to a large degree of error, but they are suggestive as additional evidence of the early preponderance of Pennsylvania and southern populations on Ohio soil.

In his "Historical Collections of Coshocton County," William E. Hunt claims to have discovered a change in the character of the incoming population about 1830. He says[2] that before that date most of the people came

[1] *Cf.* Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Centennial Edition (1890), 3 volumes. See also earlier edition in one volume published in 1847.

[2] *Cf.* p. 20.

to this county, which is a little south of the central part of the state, from Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania; but after 1830 the increasing population from outside came from New York, western Pennsylvania, Germany and Ireland. He attributes the change largely to the canal system and the opening of the northern route of migration. This is also evidence that the very early settlers came from Pennsylvania and the South in greater numbers than the census for 1850 would indicate.

The nativity of members of the legislature of Ohio at different periods also throws some light on the problem of the relative numbers of settlers from the various states. Of course it may be objected that the number of legislators who were natives of a particular state is not an accurate index of the number of settlers at the given time from that state. This may be admitted and yet, when this evidence is placed with the results from the other sources of information already cited, it may be of considerable importance. At least this evidence will show whence came the men who guided the policies of the new state.

Our information as to birth-places of legislators does not extend earlier than 1820, but after that date the percentages were as follows: [1]

[1] The figures for the calculation of the percentages in the table were obtained from the following sources in the order of dates given in the table: *Niles Weekly Register*, vol. xxi, p. 368; vol. xxv, p. 261; vol. xxx, p. 32; vol. xxxv, p. 366; *Ohio State Journal*, January 1, 1836; *Niles Register*, vol. lvii, p. 403. The total membership of the legislature was obtained from *The Ohio Hundred Year Book* (1901), by E. H. Gilkey. Legislators born in Ohio are not included in the table, and after 1840 more were born in the state than in any other single state. The percentages of the fourth column are presented separately because this is the region we have been especially interested in. The three separate states are represented because they are the chief representatives of the three groups of states considered. The numbers denote per cent of the total membership (both houses).

Year.	Middle States, *i.e.*, Pa., N. Y., N. J. and Del.	Southern States.	New England.	Pa., N. J., and South.	Pa. alone.	Va. alone.	Conn. alone.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1821–2	37	32	25	66	26	18	13
1823–4	48	27	21	68	28	16	10
1825–6	43	25	25	61	30	20	11
1828–9	50	20	25	61	37	13	14
1835–6	40	31	16	63	28	20	—
1839–40	40	19	9	52	28	13	8

These percentages show that the greatest number of legislators, born in other states, was furnished at each period by the Middle States. Among these, Pennsylvania was by far the most important single state during the whole period, herself contributing over one-fourth of the whole membership of the legislature and at one period a third.

The southern States furnished the next largest number. Among these Virginia stood easily first, contributing a larger number during the later years of the period than all New England and during the entire period more than any other state except Pennsylvania.

Among the New England States, Connecticut contributed most because her Western Reserve attracted many of her citizens to this region. When we combine Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the Southern States, the proportion during the first decade reached almost two-thirds

of the entire legislature, and during the second decade the proportion was only decreased by the fact that more of the legislators were natives of Ohio soil, the proportion relative to other states being even greater.

In the period 1835–1845 the Southern States maintain their proportion or increase it whereas the New England members fall off about half. This was the period of the anti-abolition struggle and the decrease in New England members may be due, in some measure at least, to the strong anti-slavery views of the New England people in Ohio and their exclusion from the legislature on this issue. The same influence probably increased the number of members of southern birth.

The birth-places of fifteen out of sixteen United States Senators from Ohio prior to 1840 show that six, or forty per cent, came from Virginia; four, or twenty-seven per cent, from Connecticut and that Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, New Jersey and North Carolina each furnished one. If we combine Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the South, as in the case of the state legislators, the percentage is sixty-six and two-thirds, or ten out of fifteen. These Senators came from the southern counties of Ohio where lived the greater part of the southern population, and were elected by legislators the majority of whom came, as we have seen, from Pennsylvania and the South.[1]

Before 1840, seventy-five United States Representatives had been elected to Congress from the various Ohio districts. Of these, the birth-places of sixty-two are recorded.[2]

[1] Senators from Brown, Washington, Ross, Warren, Belmont, Highland, Hamilton, Fairfield, Clermont. *Cf.* Gilkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 574–575.

[2] The chief source for birth-places of both Senators and Representatives has been *The Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774–1903*, compiled by O. M. Enyart, Washington, 1903, United States Fifty-seventh Congress, Second Session, House Document 458, vol. 100, 4539.

Of these sixty-two, New England contributed twenty-one per cent; the South twenty-four per cent; the Middle States forty-eight per cent; and combining Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the South as before, the aggregate for these regions was sixty-three per cent. These percentages correspond in a general way with the results arrived at in reference to the nativity of the state legislators. The Middle States in both cases contributed by far the greatest number, Pennsylvania taking the lead. The Southern States came next in both state and national legislature. Evidently the State's influence in national affairs was in the hands of men, the majority of whom had been born in Pennsylvania and the South.

From all the evidence presented it seems clear that Ohio's early population came largely from the back-country regions of Pennsylvania and the South. It seems highly probable that the largest single element was the Scotch-Irish, who, although they came from several of the older states, were in many respects of the same type, democratic, impatient of restraint, energetic, self-reliant and practical. Theirs were the ideas characteristic of the frontier. Germans, also from Pennsylvania, settled in the counties of the east-central and central parts of the State, and formed a large proportion of Cincinnati's population. The Puritans from New England and the Cavaliers from the coast regions of the South were present in considerable numbers.

In spite of the diversity of populations and ideas meeting and mingling on the Ohio frontier, there was a measure of unity in purposes, beliefs and ideals which had brought the settlers away from the older societies to the borders of civilization.

CHAPTER III

DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUALISM TRIUMPHANT OVER FEDERALIST IDEAS.

"The ideal of the West was its emphasis upon the worth and possibilities of the common man, its belief in the right of every man to rise to the full measure of his own nature under conditions of social mobility."[1]

The Territorial Stage of Ohio's Government.—In the Northwest Territory each settler could start on a footing of essential equality to win or lose in the struggle with his environment. After the Ohio country was freed from the dangers of Indian cruelty, each according to his choice plunged into the interior. The common object was to subdue the wilderness, but lack of ways of communication made common action over a wide area out of the question, and each community-group or family isolated from other groups became as nearly self-sufficing as possible.

When Columbus was founded in 1798 there was no grist-mill nearer than Chillicothe, forty-five miles to the south, and for eight years this was also the nearest post-office. Such conditions were calculated to bring out all the individual resourcefulness at the command of the new settlers. Each family or local group must provide the necessaries of life for itself. Each little group became democratic. It mattered little what had been the rank before, social equality was the rule of the frontier.

[1] Frederick J. Turner, *Rise of the New West*, pp. 68–69.

When goods came by pack-horse from Detroit or by wagon from the East, and common cotton check sold for one dollar per yard, all dressed much alike, not from choice, perhaps, but from necessity. In most of these early groups there were no aristocratic lines.

Even amusements proceeded from matters of necessity. All participants came from far and near to raise the log cabin of a settler amid the forests. After the work of the day the young people spent the night in merriment and dancing, while the older folk told stories and chatted beside the blazing fire. In autumn the pile of corn invited the attack of ready hands to win the prize of the "husking bee." A wedding also was a public event in which the whole community was interested. A favorite amusement on the Hamilton Common was the racing contests where all classes assembled from the country round to enjoy the pleasure and incidentally to transact matters of business.

William Maxwell founded the first newspaper at Cincinnati in 1793. But the early news items were largely statements from the outside world, and served little purpose in unifying state opinion. Sometimes four weeks passed with no mail from outside, and often the local news failed to appear for want of paper on which to print it.

These facts make it evident that the early conditions of settlement were such as to bring out the individual initiative and resource of the settlers; and they also show that whatever community-feeling had been developed was almost entirely local.

Nathaniel Massie became the leader among those who first settled the Virginia Military District in southern Ohio, a tract of more than four million acres of excellent agricultural land. After the Revolution, at the age of

twenty, he came to Kentucky from Virginia to seek his fortune, and soon became an expert surveyor as well as a successful business man. Kentucky was then a center of democratic ideas. The people cared little for the national government and were eager to become an independent commonwealth. They fretted constantly under restraint. Jefferson was the guiding spirit of these men, the friend of the West. The spirit of individual liberty and opposition to a paternal control was in the air among the people moving into the Northwest Territory.

After 1790 the land between the Scioto and Miami rivers was parceled out to Virginia's war veterans. It was not protected, as Cincinnati and Marietta had been, by the federal forts. The Virginians erected their own block-houses and defended themselves against the dangers of Indian attacks. Only men of strong and self-reliant stamp were fit to endure the hardships of such a life.

Massie established the first settlement in this district, and the fourth in the State, at Manchester, north of the Ohio, in 1790. This little community at first had no civil officers but expelled a troublesome person summarily when it could tolerate his presence no longer. Its people had confidence in themselves and were perfect democrats.[1]

Another settlement far up the Scioto, at Chillicothe, was founded six years later. Soon one hundred pioneers from Virginia and Kentucky, intent on bettering their fortunes, braved the dangers of pushing on into the interior. The land was sold to the settlers by Massie in small tracts at low prices, or apportioned by the Virginia government as a reward for previous military ser-

[1] *Cf.* David M. Massie, *Life of Nathaniel Massie* (1896), p. 57.

vice. Around Chillicothe as a center of Virginia settlers gathered some of the noted men of Ohio's early history, such men as Tiffin the first governor, McArthur a later governor, Worthington a United States Senator from Ohio, and Baldwin speaker of the lower house of the legislature. Over this Virginia district were soon scattered the claims of many southern settlers.[1] There was no regularity of survey, each settler having the privilege of locating his own claim.

When Adams county in this district had been erected, the Governor himself fixed the seat of justice at Adamsville while Massie desired it to be at Manchester, the original settlement of the county. As a result of this controversy the magistrates held court where they pleased and were reprimanded by the Governor. The right of the Governor of the territory to fix the seat of justice became a matter of bitter controversy later between the executive and the territorial legislature. It really shows the beginnings of party divisions in Ohio, for the issue in this case was as to whether the people of a locality should have the deciding voice in local matters, or be controlled by a Governor who derived his powers from outside the territory, was responsible to no one within, and could disregard public sentiment at pleasure. The Governor represented the latter idea; Massie and his southern associates represented the other. These early settlers were not friendly to the centralized government idea. Theirs was the spirit of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in reference to the Alien and Sedition laws. The genius of the pioneer in Ohio was not in accord with the government provided under the Ordinance of 1787.

[1] For method of securing these claims and the method of surveys, *cf.* Massie, *op. cit.*, chapters ii and iii.

Arthur St. Clair, a Federalist, had been appointed Governor. He was a gentleman of the old school and did not trust the common people in governmental affairs. The local officers were appointed by the Governor under the Ordinance. The executive was given also partial legislative powers and for years, with the three judges, constituted the only legislature that existed. An examination of these early laws shows that most of them were adopted from the code of Pennsylvania and a few from the codes of Virginia and Kentucky. [1]

The Governor claimed the right also to create offices which he deemed necessary and to fill them, to grant licenses to taverns and ferries and to fix the seats of justice in the various localities marked out into new counties. This method of governing was essentially aristocratic and therefore distasteful to the followers of Jefferson. Hinsdale says concerning these people, "The political temper of western society, even north of the Ohio, was far more like that of the South than that of New England." [2]

There were certain significant contrasts within the Territory during these early days between the ideas and practice of the New Englanders and of those settlers who came from the frontiers of Pennsylvania and the South. In the Miami settlement, before the territorial courts had been established, the people assembled to consult and devise a plan for common safety. They chose a chairman and secretary, adopted a code of by-laws, prescribed certain punishments, organized a temporary court and jury, and appointed a judge and sheriff. When the first robbery occurred, the offender was

[1] *Cf.* S. P. Chase, *Statutes of Ohio*, 3 vols. (1833), vol. i, pp. 92–210.

[2] *The Old Northwest* (1899), p. 295.

arrested, tried and punished with twenty-nine lashes the same afternoon.[1] This is exactly similar to the method used in southeastern Ohio by the "squatter settlers" before the territory was organized.

At Marietta among the New England settlers, before St. Clair and the judges arrived, the directors and agents of the Ohio Company met in July, 1788, to appoint a board of police, composed of the directors themselves, for the purpose of drafting a set of rules for the conduct of the settlement. The rules were made by this board and posted.[2] The New England settlement was from the start more of an organized unit with less of the individual initiative. It was managed as a stock company under a board of directors who prescribed the rules and regulations of the settlement.

The difference is further emphasized by the elaborate ceremonies at the inauguration of the first Common Pleas court in the territory. It convened September 2, 1788, at Marietta. The procession of judges, officers of the army and people was headed by the sheriff with drawn sword, and Governor St. Clair was present.[3] The early sessions of court in other parts of southern Ohio, especially in the Miami settlements, presented a marked contrast to this scene. It was usual to hold court in a cabin and not unusual to see the judge and jury seated under a tree, awarding justice.[4] The typical court of the West became a forum for training in debate and citizenship where the people attended in large numbers.

[1] *Cf.* Jacob Burnet, *Notes on Northwest Territory*, p. 57.

[2] *Cf.* S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History* (Cincinnati, 1848), pp. 213–214.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 232.

[4] *Cf.* Caleb Atwater, *History of Ohio* (1838), p. 177.

A still more significant contrast between the New England settlement and the other settlements in southern Ohio consisted in the method of establishing them and the system of land-holding. The Ohio Company, whose first settlement was at Marietta, had been formed in the East with shares of $1,000 each. The articles of agreement laid down the general rules of conducting the company, limited the shares, and provided for five directors to be elected by the proprietors to whom were delegated extensive powers. The agreement also determined the method of assigning lots in order to secure equality, as well as the size of them and many details of their occupation, at the same time making provision that "foreigners of wealth and character might become proprietors" in the future.[1]

The company secured a large tract of land on the Muskingum river. The grant from Congress included a special provision for six hundred and forty acres in each township for the support of religion, and an equal amount for schools. This was due to the efforts of Dr. Cutler.[2]

This shows the idea of the New Englander that the social group as a whole was responsible for the maintenance of church and school. The directors arranged for the first expedition to the new settlement. All the details were put under the management of a superintendent appointed by the directors, who accompanied the settlers and remained on the ground. Everything was provided for, from the size of the lots of land and the building of houses and planting of the land, to the educational and religious instruction of the settlers. The

[1] *Cf.* W. P. Cutler and Julia P. Cutler, *Life of Rev. Manasseh Cutler* (2 vols.), vol. i, pp. 181 *et seq.* for agreement.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 319 and p. 346.

group was a unit where individuality did not have so much chance to express itself.[1]

With the system described above, contrast the more independent spirit of the frontier population from Pennsylvania and the South, which came into Southern Ohio to take up alone, or in small groups, the land at their disposal. In their eyes the wilderness was not to be won by a group effort, as in the case of the New England colony, but by individual initiative, to which their border life and struggles had already accustomed them. Southeastern Ohio, the Virginia military tract, and the rich Miami country, north of the Symmes purchase, rapidly filled with the self-reliant, pioneer type of settler who settled upon the small holding of land to make it his own.

It had been the policy of the federal government to sell land in very large tracts as in the case of the Ohio Company's and Symmes' purchases in Ohio. But this large-tract plan was essentially undemocratic and unsuited to such a population as was entering the region north of the Ohio. It gave too much chance to the land speculator and too little opportunity to the individual settler. The national government therefore quickly abandoned the scheme and disposed of the public domain in smaller tracts. In 1800, when the party of Jefferson came into power, and W. H. Harrison, himself a Virginian, was Ohio's delegate in Congress, a new act was secured, largely through his influence, which permitted tracts of 320 acres to be purchased by individuals. Land offices were opened at Chillicothe, Marietta, Cincinnati and Steubenville, in Ohio. A rush for the small holdings followed and settlement was accelerated. The size of the tracts was soon further reduced to 160 acres

[1] *Cf.* Hildreth, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–206.

and the price fixed at $2 per acre, with five years for payment. This plan was thoroughly democratic and permitted a multitude of people to become freeholders.

In 1799 there was enough population in the territory to organize a territorial legislature as provided in the original Ordinance. A council of five persons was appointed by President Adams from among ten persons chosen by the people's representatives. Now both council and governor were appointed by outside authority and neither was responsible directly to the people. To vote for a representative to the legislature, the voter must own a freehold of fifty acres within the territory, be a citizen and a resident in the district for two years. The representative, to be elected, must possess 200 acres of land within the district, and a member of the council must own 500 acres of land.[1]

The Governor's power was really strengthened, for he was given an absolute veto over acts of the legislature, was in fact a "branch of the legislature" as he himself expressed it.[2] He held the appointing power even of local justices throughout the territory. St. Clair still stubbornly maintained his right to erect new counties and establish the seats of justice even after the legislature was established. So it appears that the territorial government was still extremely aristocratic and out of harmony with the spirit of the people who were governed.

The first legislature was made up of men of no ordinary ability, largely irrespective of party lines.[3] Tiffin

[1] *Cf.* William H. Smith, *The St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), 2 vols., vol. i, p. 208.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 475.

[3] *Cf.* Jacob Burnet, *Notes on Northwest Territory*, pp. 289 *et seq.* for facts about members.

of Virginia, an ardent follower of Jefferson and later elected the first Governor of the State, was chosen speaker. On the committees appointed by him were to be found a number of southern men, friends of Jefferson.[1] In the conduct of the legislature itself there was evident the opposition to the existing order of government. They remonstrated with Congress against the unqualified veto of the Governor[2] and his exclusive right to erect new counties. They sought to abolish property qualifications for voting and office-holding and to extend the right of voting for members of the legislature to all white male citizens of twenty-one years of age, who had resided one year in the Territory and had paid a territorial or county tax.[3] This was a plea for manhood suffrage which soon became the persistent demand of the western democracy and was actually incorporated in the first Ohio constitution.

At the close of the first legislative session, a resolution was offered indorsing the policy of President Adams. The council, which had been appointed by the President, passed it without dissent, but in the House there were five votes against the resolution and eleven in favor.[4] Here was the division along the lines of the national parties. In general the New England men tended to the Federalist party, the Southern men to the Republican, and the rest were divided. There was much complaining

[1] *Cf. St. Clair Papers, op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 447 *et seq.* for the proceedings of this session and the committees.

[2] Out of the thirty acts of the legislature, the governor vetoed eleven. Six of these related to the erection of counties, which right the governor claimed exclusively. *Cf.* S. P. Chase, *Statutes of Ohio*, vol. i, p. 29.

[3] *Cf.* Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 300–315.

[4] *Cf. St. Clair Papers, op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 213.

as to the centralization of governmental powers and discontent with the administration of St. Clair.

Before the meeting of the second session of the legislature in November, 1800, the Territory had been divided and Indiana became a separate territory with W. H. Harrison as its Governor. St. Clair had at first advocated a three-fold division, on the ground that the parts of the Northwest Territory must be kept for a long time in the territorial stage and if not divided it must soon become a state. His plan was to make an eastern division with Marietta as a center where Federalist ideas should control; a central division with Cincinnati as center, and the western division, Indiana. The Governor claimed that the people were not ready for statehood, having yet no fixed political principles. Besides, those most likely to lead in the movement for statehood were opposed to the national administration, and would be even more republican in principles than the leaders in Kentucky who had just passed the resolutions against the Alien and Sedition laws. St. Clair distrusted the motives of the advocates of statehood and pointed out that "almost all of them are Democrats," and that they expected to secure power and influence under the new state government.[1] But the pro-state men had sent their representative, Thomas Worthington, a Virginian and a loyal friend of Jefferson, to Philadelphia to advocate before Congress the division of the territory along the present boundaries and the location of the seat of government at Chillicothe, the chief center of Virginia settlers in Ohio. The division was so ordered by Congress.

[1] *Cf. St. Clair Papers, op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 482-501 for the details of the above opinions of the governor.

Meanwhile the second session of the legislature opened in November, 1800, at Chillicothe. Resolutions were offered by Nathaniel Massie, asserting the right of the legislature to erect new counties. So again was opened the old quarrel with the governor, and much discussion and bitter feeling was aroused.

In 1801, when statehood seemed imminent for the Ohio division, St. Clair and his supporters tried again to urge upon Congress a division at the Scioto river, and by this means either prevent statehood for a long time or throw the eastern division into the hands of the Federalists. At this period the Governor in a letter to Senator Ross of Pennsylvania, named Worthington, Tiffin, Massie, Darlington and Baldwin as his enemies in the Territory.[1] These men were the leaders of the party of Jefferson, three of whom at least had come from Virginia. At this very time Baldwin and Worthington were at the seat of the national government urging Congress to pass the enabling act for a new state. Petitions were secured and the Chillicothe junto was aided by leaders over the southern part of the Territory in creating a demand for statehood.[2] It was urged that the existing government was hindering the progress of the territory and the inflow of capital and population. The advocates of statehood pointed out that the territorial régime was out of harmony with the character and interests of the settlers.

Meanwhile opposition became so bitter against the governor himself that during the meeting of the legislature, in December, 1801, he barely escaped the violence of a mob at the house where he was staying in Chillicothe.

[1] *Cf. St. Clair Papers, op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 557.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, vol. i, p. 231.

The mob was dispersed without serious violence and the leaders were arrested, but the magistrate promptly dismissed them.[1]

Charges of a serious nature were now preferred against the Governor by his political enemies.[2] These charges were drawn up by Nathaniel Massie, who had first quarreled with St. Clair over his right to fix the seats of justice for a county, and were presented to President Jefferson by the "agent of the state party," Thomas Worthington.

Petitions kept pouring in upon Congress, until finally the national legislature rejected the idea of dividing the territory and passed the enabling act to form a state constitution. Worthington shrewdly secured in this act a provision marking out the electoral districts for the constitutional convention elections, the number of delegates for each, the qualifications for voting, and the time of the assembly. Congress declared in favor of manhood suffrage in the election of delegates to the Ohio constitutional convention, thereby sweeping away old property qualifications and recognizing the demands of the people living in the Territory.

The opposition party of the Territory at once claimed that these detailed specifications by Congress were an invasion of popular rights, because the territorial legislature was ignored, and the people were not asked to pass by vote on the question of statehood. It was claimed that the scheme was of purely political origin, since the Republicans desired the additional electoral votes of the new state in the next presidential election. But the fact of the matter seems to be that, although it

[1] *Cf. St. Clair Papers, op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 555–556.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 563–570 for statement and discussion.

may have been a political scheme, the plan really expressed the will of a large majority of the people of the Territory. It was the only way to get the issue of statehood squarely before the people, for, if left to the legislative initiative of the territorial legislature, the Governor, who opposed such action, could and would have effectively blocked all the efforts of the representatives of the people. Such was the power of the absolute veto. The debates on the enabling act bring out this view clearly.[1]

The debates also show that the southern members of the House were generally in favor of admission while New England opposed. The vote on the enabling act stood forty-seven yeas to twenty-nine nays. Virginia members gave fifteen yeas and one nay; Massachusetts was about equally divided with four yeas and five nays; but Connecticut stood solidly against admission. The fundamental opposition appeared in the votes of Virginia and Connecticut. The South furnished twenty-seven yeas, the Middle States fourteen, and New England six; while, of the twenty-nine nays, New England furnished fifteen.[2] So it might be urged that it was as much a political scheme of the Federalists to keep Ohio from statehood as of the Republicans to make her a state, and that the opposition was less justified because the Republicans were working in line with the wishes of a majority of the people of the territory. When the elected delegates met in the convention in November, 1802, and voted on the question of statehood, before beginning their deliberations, there was only one negative vote, that of Cutler of Marietta.

[1] *Cf. Annals of Congress*, 1801–2, pp. 1105–1112.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 1801–2, pp. 1161–1162.

Jefferson himself has been accused by his enemies of promoting the scheme of statehood. Of course it was to his personal interest as well as to the interest of his party to secure Ohio in the ranks of the Republican states where it remained for the first twenty years of its history. It is known that he did commend the constitution, and his opinion of the territorial government in the Northwest is a matter of record in a letter dated Jan. 23, 1800, where he says, "Surely such a government as the first form prescribed for the territories is a despotic oligarchy without one rational object."[1] Jefferson's sympathy was with these western people whose guiding spirit he was, and if he promoted statehood, as he probably did, it was more in the interests of the people whom he trusted and to whom he wished to give the greatest opportunity to realize their best interests, than from any narrow political motive.

Governor St. Clair's address to the convention indicates his personal attitude toward the proper relation of the territorial government to the people governed. He said, "My feelings are those of a father who saw the day drawing nigh which was to send a son, over whose education he had long watched with varied emotions of parental affection, into a world where dangers awaited him at every step."[2] The speech shows how little he appreciated that fearless, independent spirit of the pioneers with which he had to deal. No paternal idea of government would ever satisfy such men, and what were the dangers of which the Governor speaks compared with those they had undergone! Because of criti-

[1] H. A. Washington, *Jefferson's Complete Works* (N. Y., 1853), vol. iv, p. 315. Also Ford edition, vol. vii, p. 411.

[2] *Cf. St. Clair Papers, op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 593.

cisms made in this same address, St. Clair was accused to President Jefferson of using intemperate and indecorous language concerning the Congress, and of showing a disorganizing spirit.[1] Jefferson at once removed him and left the duties of governor in the hands of the loyal Republican secretary, Charles Byrd.

Such an outcome was to be expected, for the real point at issue was the principle of government. The Jeffersonian party was right in believing that the people of the territory should be allowed to govern themselves. The attitude of the Federalists was narrow and blind.

The First Ohio Constitution.—The principle of the territorial government had been questioned. The leaders of the people alleged that the form was anti-Republican and that the citizens did not enjoy the rights of freemen. The governor, judges and council were not subject to popular control; the power of appointment to office, vested in the Governor and Congress, had been abused and was dangerous in principle; and finally the executive controlled the will of the representatives of the people by his veto.

The delegates elected to the convention met at Chillicothe, November 1, 1802. It was their purpose to remedy the supposed evils of the former system and to introduce a thoroughly democratic form of government in harmony with the ideas and needs of the people.

Of thirty-five members we have been able to trace the birthplaces of but twenty at most. Of these Virginia furnished nine; Connecticut three; Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Kentucky each two; North Carolina and Maryland each one. Of course this is not satisfactory

[1] *Cf. St. Clair Papers, op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 244–246 for the correspondence relative to the accusation and removal.

for the whole convention, but among those traced the preponderance of Virginia is evident, along with Pennsylvania and the Southern States. This much is certain, that the convention was in complete control of the Chillicothe Republicans.[1] Edward Tiffin was chosen president of the convention. He had come to Ohio from Virginia in 1798, having early in life adopted the views of Jefferson. He was closely associated with the group of Virginia men, chief among whom were Nathaniel Massie and Thomas Worthington, who were the strongest advocates of statehood. Most of the delegates were in accord with the national administration.

A study of the committees appointed by Tiffin to report on the various articles of the new constitution shows clearly the control which the followers of Jefferson exercised over the proceedings and results of the convention. Each of the eight articles was assigned to such a committee. Cutler says in his letters that in the judiciary committee, of the sixteen members, eight were from Virginia, including the chairman.[2] Worthington was placed on six different committees, and of two he was chairman, *i. e.*, Militia, and Privileges and Elections; Morrow of Pennsylvania was chairman of the committee which prepared the article on Electors and Elections; while Massie, who had had the old quarrel with Governor St. Clair, headed the committee on Executive Powers.[3]

[1] *Cf.* D. J. Ryan, "The First Constitution," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, Centennial Celebration, 1903*, p. 25. Mr. Ryan says that of the thirty-five members all but two came from the southern and southeastern part of the state. Men from Virginia, Kentucky and Pennsylvania dominated the convention.

[2] *Cf.* Julia Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler*, p. 70.

[3] *Cf. Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, vol. v, pp. 80–132 for full proceedings of the convention, its committees, etc.

The evidence seems to show conclusively that the most important constitutional committees were controlled by the strongest Republicans.

Jacob Burnet, a Federalist, in his "Notes" reviews the character and ability of the delegates. Of the four men whom he chooses to mention, as especially worthy, from Hamilton county, three were from the South and one from Pennsylvania. He refers in terms of high praise to the three Virginians from Ross county, Massie, Worthington and Tiffin.[1]

A letter from Speaker Macon of the United States House of Representatives, a member from North Carolina, to Thomas Worthington, dated September 1, 1802, shows how southern views were being brought to bear upon the makers of the new constitution. He recommended appointments by the legislature, even to the election of governor by joint ballot, and a limited term for all officers. He favored representation by numbers, abolition of all property qualifications, and election of the militia officers by those subject to duty or by the under officers.[2] Speaker Macon was an intimate friend of Jefferson and frankly admits in this letter that the suggestions given indicate the changes he would desire in his own state constitution. As a matter of fact the Ohio convention actually adopted all these ideas except that of electing the Governor by joint ballot of the legislature.

The Constitution itself shows the effects of the bitter struggle against St. Clair and the principle of aristocratic control. In the first place, the Governor, although elected by the people for a two-year term, was so stripped of real power that Corwin, after being Governor a

[1] *Cf.* pp. 350–369.

[2] *Cf. St. Clair Papers*, vol. ii, pp. 590–591.

week, said, "The reprieving of criminals and appointing notaries are the sole powers of the prerogative." The convention denied all veto power to the Governor.

On the other hand, the great share of power was now put into the hands of the legislature elected for a short term by the people. The idea of making the legislature supreme was characteristic of the Southern and Western states especially, at this period. The powers in Ohio extended to the appointment of the judges for a limited term of seven years, and all civil officers in immediate connection with the government. Thus the office-holders were always within the power of the legislature. The legislative department controlled and restricted the judicial, thus weakening the independence of the judges. How this concentration of power in the legislature worked out will receive attention in a following section. It was by no means always to the interest of the people at large or on broadly democratic lines.

The old property qualifications for voting and office-holding were abolished and manhood suffrage was introduced. The only qualification relating to property at all was the requirement that a voter pay a state or county tax, but the road tax was accepted in fulfilment of this requirement, so that practically every white male of twenty-one years, who had been a resident of the state for one year, and was residing in the voting district, was allowed to exercise the franchise. This radical democratic tendency was in marked contrast to the requirements of most of the states at this time, but in accord with the ideas of the more democratic population of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, and especially of the settlers moving onward into the Northwest from the older states.

The desire was clearly to make all agents in the government responsible to the people by giving the power

to the representatives of the people for a short term. This tendency gradually extended to the direct election by the people of more and more of their officers. Already in the Ohio constitution provision was made to elect directly the justices, the sheriff and the coroner, as well as the governor and both houses of the legislature. Burnet voiced the conservative distrust of the masses when he expressed the fear that popular elections would be dangerous in making the officers so elected subject to popular displeasure.[1]

A comparison of Ohio's constitution, adopted in 1802, with the constitutions of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, adopted respectively in 1790 and 1799, shows advances toward a more radical democratic view, although in its fundamental ideas and powers it is most in accord with these. The Ohio convention decided on a shorter term for the state senators, *i. e.*, two years instead of four years, as also for the governor, *i. e.*, two years instead of three and four years, as in Pennsylvania and Kentucky. The limited powers of the executive have already been pointed out for Ohio. In both the other constitutions the governor was given the right of controlling legislation by the veto, and greater freedom in the appointing power. In Pennsylvania the judges of the courts were appointed during good behavior by the governor, and in Kentucky for the same term, *i. e.*, good behavior, by the governor and senate, but in Ohio, as has been said, the joint ballot of the assembly appointed them, and that only for a limited term with full power of removal.

In Pennsylvania the local justices were appointed by the governor during good behavior, and in Kentucky by the governor and senate from among persons nominated

[1] *Cf. Notes*, pp. 350–369.

by the local county court. In Ohio provision was made for their direct election by the electors of the townships. In Pennsylvania the sheriff and coroner were appointed by the governor for three years, but from persons chosen by the people at the regular county election; in Kentucky the governor appointed these officers for two years from persons nominated by the county court. In Ohio they were elected directly in each county for a two-year term. So we see in Pennsylvania and Kentucky a combination of the principles of election and appointment, but in Ohio the next step was taken and the principle of direct election was introduced.

The only essential difference between the qualifications for voters in the Ohio Constitution and those in the other constitutions mentioned, was the requirement of a shorter residence within both the state and district.

There is in the Ohio Constitution another significant extension of the elective principle. The captains and subalterns of the militia were to be elected by the persons in the respective districts who were subject to service. Majors and colonels were elected by the lower officers, while the chief commanding officers were appointed by joint ballot of the legislature, leaving only the adjutant-general to be appointed by the governor. In Pennsylvania these officers were appointed by the governor. It had been customary on the frontier when expeditions were organized against the Indians to allow the men to elect their leader. Preference was then given only to the one who had proved himself and shown the qualities of a natural leader.[1]

The method of amendment was about the same in the

[1] *Cf. Archaeological and Historical Publications*, vol. vi, p. 151 for an instance of the election of a leader.

Ohio and Kentucky Constitutions, and the Ohio Bill of Rights was worded more nearly like that of Pennsylvania.[1]

Turner says that the frontier regions have always exercised a steady influence toward democracy.[2] In the West the struggle for the principles of democratic government first compelled recognition. Self-government was demanded as a right by the brave pioneers who had won the wilderness by their own efforts. Men stood on a plane of equality so far as opportunity was concerned. Here in the interior naturally developed manhood suffrage. The principles of Jefferson were well adapted to western life and ideas. Simplicity, economy in government, freedom of the individual, the right of self-government and equal opportunity, the great leader of democracy had advocated long before the West was settled by men who were impatient of the restraints of law, religion and morality in the older regions of the country. In the West there was no established order, everything was dynamic.

Further Developments of Democracy.—The new state government was organized under complete Republican control which continued for almost a quarter of a century.[3]

[1] *Cf.* B. P. Poore, *The Federal and State Constitutions*, 2 vols. (1877), vol. i, pp. 657–668, for the Kentucky constitution of 1799. Also vol. ii, pp. 1548–1557 for the Pennsylvania constitution of 1790. From these documents the preceding comparisons and conclusions were drawn.

[2] *Cf.* "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xci, pp. 83–96.

[3] Of eleven governors before 1840: four were from Virginia, three from Connecticut, three from Pennsylvania and one from Ohio. Of fifteen U. S. Senators before 1840: six were from Virginia, four from Connecticut, one each from Pennsylvania, Kentucky, New Jersey, North Carolina and Ohio. Of sixty-two Representatives in Congress before 1840: eight were from Virginia, eight from Connecticut, eighteen from

The electoral vote for president in 1804 showed how strongly the State favored the policy of the national administration.[1] Edward Tiffin was elected the first governor and Nathaniel Massie became the first president of the state senate. Thomas Worthington and John Smith were the first to represent Ohio in the United States Senate. All these men had come from the South. Michael Baldwin, speaker of the house, was a loyal follower of Jefferson, and Jeremiah Morrow, Ohio's first representative in Congress, where he remained for sixteen years, came from Pennsylvania.

Excessive Powers of the Legislature—Some Results.—Professor Turner admits that "the democracy born of free land, strong in selfishness and individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing individual liberty beyond its proper bounds, has its dangers as well as its benefits."[2] As developed in practice, too much power had been given the legislature by the Ohio constitution. In 1805 an act was passed giving local justices jurisdiction without jury in debts not exceeding fifty dollars.[3] The Ohio judges declared the law void on the ground that it conflicted with the federal constitution. The legislature was intolerant of such

Pennsylvania, six from New Jersey, six from New York, four from Maryland, three from Massachusetts, two from Ohio, two from Ireland, and one each from South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Maine and New Hampshire.

[1] *Cf. Cincinnati Miscellany*, 1845, p. 61.

Republican.		*Federalist.*	
Massie	2,593	Wells	364
Goforth	2,502	Reily	320
Pritchard	2,475	Gilman	190

[2] Frederick J. Turner, "The Frontier in American History," reprinted in Bullock's *Selected Readings in Economics*, p. 53.

[3] *Cf.* S. P. Chase, *Statutes of Ohio*, vol. i, p. 445.

independence and proceeded to impeach the judges.[1] In the fall of 1809 a new doctrine was advocated. It would soon be seven years since the constitution had been put in force, and so it was claimed by many leaders that all civil officers must vacate at the end of this period, and thus clear the field for new aspirants. It was argued that the longest period of appointment by the legislature was seven years, which was the term of the judges of the court. No officer, therefore, could hold his office beyond the expiration of this time whether he had served out his term or not. In December, 1809, a representative of Jefferson county presented a resolution which was amended and passed in January, 1810, sweeping out of office at a stroke the judges over the entire state, the secretary of state, auditor and treasurer.[2] The vote on this resolution stood twenty-seven to seventeen in the house. During the following month the legislature proceeded to fill up the vacancies by selecting supreme court judges and president and associate judges in twenty-six counties, as well as a new secretary of state, auditor and treasurer.[3] Much confusion resulted and many delays in the execution of justice. These seem like the tactics of Andrew Jackson applied by the legislature. The motives of the legislators may be questioned, but it is not a surprising outcome of the plan of giving so much absolute power into the hands of the representatives of the people.

In other states the veto power was very generally employed to some extent at least. In Pennsylvania bills were published before a final vote by the legislature. Sometimes the vote was postponed until the following

[1] *Cf.* Chase, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 38–40.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, vol. i, p. 736.

[3] *Cf.* Caleb Atwater, *History of Ohio*, pp. 182–185.

session which gave the people a chance to control the action of their agents. In New York the power was vested in a revising council composed of the Governor, Chancellor and Judges of the Court. In this manner the judges were given the opportunity to pass on a measure before it became a law. But Ohio's experience with the absolute veto power under St. Clair had led them to go over to the opposite extreme and permit no veto power at all. Nothing therefore was allowed to prevent the representatives of the people from exercising their will, however unwise and ill-considered the expression of that will might be.

Atwater, writing in 1838, points out that the legislature possessed too much power and that the veto power was greatly needed.[1] Acts that were not constitutional were passed with little consideration, and laws were amended only to be made worse. The charge was made that the legislators often pursued the policy of amending laws and passing acts of personal legislation as an excuse to prolong the session and draw the daily fees. In such cases the power of the Governor to reject such acts as appeared to be unconstitutional, inexpedient, or unnecessary would have saved the state much money and prevented many evils.

The legislature assumed administrative functions, as well as legislative, in which field such a body is usually inefficient. It undertook to dispose of the lands granted by Congress for the support of schools. An attempt was made at first to lease the lands, and successive legislatures passed many different laws. Besides the general acts, special laws were passed at every session granting the privilege to localities to dispose of their own school

[1] *Cf. History of Ohio*, pp. 172–173.

lands, or giving to individuals special concessions. Not infrequently members of the legislature profited personally by the action. This method tended to benefit the lessees rather than to provide a wise administration in the interests of public instruction. The legislature as trustee was wasting the funds placed in its charge by the federal government.[1]

This is only one example of the very extensive personal and local legislation which filled volumes of the statutes during the early period of the State's history while the legislature had unlimited power.

The legislature entered into the construction of state canals and turnpikes after 1825, and grew constantly more lavish in its expenditures. Two canals were built between Lake Erie and the Ohio River by the State, and besides it subscribed stock in private canal and turnpike companies. A board of canal commissioners had charge of this vast work, but every year, as the statutes will show, detailed instructions were given to the board which was often hindered by too much legislative control. There was always a decided opposition to control by a board or commission.

A committee of the Ohio Whig convention of 1837 reported certain state evils that ought to be corrected. They pointed out the great amount of personal legislation that was enacted at the expense of public spirit, and declared that private corporations were authorized by the legislature for personal gain. Railroads, turnpikes, canals,

[1] Atwater was chairman of a committee appointed in 1821 to examine into the whole subject of education in Ohio. The committee reported that more money had been expended by the state in legislating concerning school lands than they had yet or ever would produce unless better managed, and that the lessees were the real beneficiaries. *Cf.* Atwater, *History of Ohio*, p. 258.

banks, and insurance companies were incorporated, but many never materialized, except to the profit of the promoter. Speculation was therefore encouraged by the legislature. The committee maintained that local laws formed the great bulk of state laws passed at each session. The assembly had wasted both time and public money, and the general good was often sacrificed to satisfy private or local ambitions and patronage.[1]

The extravagances of the state legislature in these matters led to the demand for some limitations when the constitutional convention met in 1851. In the new instrument the legislature was prevented from subscribing the credit of the state in private corporations, and from making internal improvements. Special legislation was also prohibited.[2]

States' Rights in Ohio.—The South had censured the Hartford convention, and both South and West, whose interests up to the close of the War of 1812 were essentially the same, had supported the national government enthusiastically in the war. It seemed that states' rights were no longer an issue.[3]

Ohio's delegation in the House of Representatives favored by a vote of three to two the charter of the Bank in 1816.[4] Two branches were established in Ohio, one at Chillicothe, the other at Cincinnati.[5] Speculation followed

[1] *Cf. Niles Register*, vol. lii, pp. 328–329.

[2] *Cf.* S. P. Orth, "Administration in Ohio," *Columbia University Studies*, vol. xvi, pp. 171–173.

[3] Calhoun had argued in favor of the tariff and internal improvements as nationalizing policies and Madison had signed the bill to recharter the United States Bank.

[4] *Cf. House Journals*, March 14, 1816, for vote.

[5] *Cf.* Jacob Burnet, *Notes*, pp. 407–408. He claims that committees from Ohio solicited these branch banks.

the war of 1812, state banks multiplied, circulating paper greatly expanded, and much land was purchased on credit. Hard times soon followed. The United States Bank tried to compel the state banks to redeem notes in specie. A panic ensued, because few banks in the South or West could so redeem their paper. Manufacturers were in distress, prices fell on products and land, and workmen were dismissed. Conditions in Cincinnati were serious. By foreclosure the United States Bank came into possession of large amounts of property. Benton declared in his opposition to the Bank, "All the flourishing cities of the West are mortgaged to this money power." [1] The Bank was called "The Monster," and opposed as an "engine of aristocracy."

As early as 1817 the legislature of Ohio considered the question of taxing the United States Bank in the State but postponed action. In the meantime the panic had developed and the Bank's policy had fallen into disrepute with the people of Ohio. Furthermore, between 1817 and 1819 Maryland, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina and Kentucky had passed acts taxing the Bank within their bounds.[2] Ohio's interests were those of the South on this issue. There was a popular demand for relief; so the Ohio legislature, backed by public opinion and the state banking interests, passed a law, in February, 1819, taxing the branches at Chillicothe and Cincinnati $100,000. This act declared the Bank to be in violation of the rights of the State. It was made the duty of the auditor of the state to collect the tax, even to enter the bank and take the money by force if necessary. This he did in the face of an injunction secured by the federal authorities. Open defiance to the Supreme Court decision, in the case of McCullough v. Mary-

[1] *Cf.* F. J. Turner, *New West*, p. 137.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 137.

land, on this very point was shown by the state authorities. In this case Justice Marshall had rendered an elaborate opinion in which he denied the right of Maryland to tax the United States Bank. Ohio thus early asserted the principle of nullification.[1]

The matter was referred to a committee of the State legislature for report. The report affirmed adherence to the doctrine of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1800, and asserted that in great questions of political rights and powers a decision of the Supreme Court was not conclusive of the rights decided. The people had agreed to this doctrine in the election of Jefferson in 1800 and they were the source of all power. The committee recommended that the decision of the court be ignored and argued that the state had the right to interpret the constitution where sovereign rights were involved, "as in all cases of compact among parties having no common judge." They recommended further that the bank be declared an outlaw by legislative act which was done in 1821. By this latter act the protection of the state laws was withdrawn from the Bank in certain cases.[2] But finally another decision of the Court, in the case of Osborn v. United States, was accepted by Ohio and the matter was closed.[3] The national government had already passed a relief act to alleviate the financial distress of the West, and had reduced the price of land, so that the immediate cause of the excite-

[1] *Cf.* D. J. Ryan, "Nullification in Ohio," *Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, December, 1888. Feeling in the state ran high and the elections of 1819 were affected by the controversy. *Cf. Niles Register*, vol. xvii, p. 139.

[2] *Cf. House Journal*, 1821, pp. 199–233, for full report of the above committee. It is most orthodox Jeffersonian doctrine. They still maintained the right to tax private corporations created by Congress and declared the Bank to be a private corporation.

[3] *Cf.* 9 *Wheaton Reports*, 738.

ment was removed and the right to tax the bank was no longer urged by the State. The attention of the country was diverted to a more important issue, the slavery controversy.

Local Government in Ohio.—In the sparsely settled regions of the Northwest Territory, the larger local unit, the county, was a more natural one for a society depending almost wholly on agriculture and gathering little in towns. The southern settlers were already familiar with this unit, having had no such local solidarity, either political or religious, as was found in New England. In fact the spirit of the early settlers endured little restraint by government of any sort, and had opposed from the start the paternal policy of the central territorial government to control their local affairs. During the territorial stage, as we have described, counties were established and local officers were appointed by the governor. A court of Quarter Sessions in each county was appointed by the governor, with powers, fiscal and administrative, similar to those long exercised by this court in the Southern States. It had the power to organize townships and fix boundaries and to take care of certain local functions for which officers were appointed by the court, *i. e.* clerk, constable, and overseer of the poor.[1] It is to be noted, therefore, that the township government, as established in Ohio, was quite different from the New England town system. The township was not the chief local unit but rather a subdivision of the county and was organized by the powers above in the county which was the chief local unit. At first even the jurisdiction of the justices was co-extensive with the county but this made collection of debts so difficult and expensive that in 1799 jurisdiction was limited to the township of residence.[2] In this

[1] *Cf.* J. A. Fairlie, *Local Government*, pp. 36–53.

[2] *Cf.* Jacob Burnet, *Notes*, p. 311.

composite system, at first the township had very limited local functions which increased as population increased and became concentrated in local centers. The towns and villages soon obtained a large degree of self-government under special incorporation acts passed by the legislature.

When Ohio became a state in 1802 the local government was organized on a more democratic basis. All the fiscal and administrative powers of the court of quarter sessions were transferred to a Board of Commissioners for each county, the members of which were elected by the people. Provision was made at the legislative session of 1803-04 to incorporate townships whose size and boundaries should be regulated by the board of commissioners of each county.[1] In the county the sheriffs, coroners, and justices, formerly appointed, were elected by the people. The local affairs of the township were managed by trustees also elected by popular vote. Local powers had begun to concentrate more in the smaller division which now possessed some power to levy taxes and cared for the public highways. In all states admitted after 1800 there was a strong tendency to extend the principle of local popular elections. The followers of Jefferson in Ohio were true in this respect to the principles of their leader. The individualistic, independent founders of these early communities in the West preferred to limit the powers of the larger administrative group, and to entrust more and more to the local unit.[2]

It is evident then that the early settlers in Ohio were ever ready to protest against any aristocratic tendencies in government, and that they extended the principles of democratic control, even to an extreme in some cases.

[1] *Cf.* S. P. Chase, *Statutes of Ohio*, vol. i, pp. 397–400, chap. xxxv, for text of the law.

[2] *Cf.* James Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, 3rd ed., 1895, vol. i, pp. 589–610 for a further and more general treatment of local government in the states of the Northwest Territory.

CHAPTER IV

The Problem of Slavery and the Free Black Projected into Ohio

The Controversy in the Territorial Stage and in the Constitutional Convention. — Professor Turner says, "The southern pioneers in the Northwest formed a transitional zone between the northern area and the slave states south of the Ohio." [1] Many of these settlers came to Ohio after having freed their slaves. Others had no slaves and because they could not compete with the economic system that fostered slavery, left the South seeking better opportunity. Some moved north of the River hoping to be allowed to retain their slaves. Petitions were presented to the first territorial legislature (1799), asking permission to bring slaves into the Virginia Military District. These petitions were refused on the ground of the prohibition in the Ordinance of 1787.[2] In the session of 1801 further petitions were presented asking for an act to authorize and require the courts of the Territory to compel specific performance of covenants and indentures entered into for a valuable consideration.[3] The object was evidently to introduce a species of limited slavery by contract or indenture.

But the majority from the South were not of the slaveholding class and were glad to get away from the economic

[1] *The New West*, p. 94.

[2] *Cf. St. Clair Papers*, vol. ii, pp. 447 and 451, for the text of two petitions.

[3] *Cf.* Jacob Burnet, *Notes*, p. 332.

drawbacks of the system. The early expression of the economic motive for the exclusion of slavery and the free black from the Territory came from Judge Burnet who declared, in answer to the petitions above cited, "It would ultimately retard the settlement and check the prosperity of the Territory, by making labor less reputable, and creating feelings and habits unfriendly to the simplicity and industry, they desired to encourage." [1]

When the Constitutional Convention met in 1802 a hundred or so propositions were submitted concerning the colored people then within the State, although at that time the number was very small. Some wished to make them citizens and encourage their immigration, others to grant only the protection of the laws, and still others to exclude them from the courts as witnesses against whites. The discussion grew so warm that many feared the objects of the convention would be defeated. Therefore most of the propositions were tabled while a constitution was framed which ignored the negro and embraced only the free white population.[2] The votes on granting suffrage and citizenship were very close and opinion was evidently so much divided that President Tiffin cast the deciding vote against negro suffrage.[3]

The question whether slavery should be admitted into the new state came within the work assigned to the committee of the convention on a Bill of Rights. This committee met at President Tiffin's house by invitation. Ephraim Cutler of Marietta was a member and describes in his letters what took place. Mr. Brown, a southern member and chairman of the committee, proposed his ideas in a section

[1] *Notes*, pp. 306–307. [2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 354 *et seq.*

[3] *Cf.* E. H. Gilkey, *Ohio Hundred Year Book*, pp. 80–81, for notes on the proceedings of the convention.

to the effect that limited slavery be permitted in Ohio, no male to be held after thirty-five years of age, and no female after twenty-five years. Cutler's own vote decided the committee, five to four, against this proposition and the clause finally adopted came from his own pen.[1] Brown claimed that the Ordinance of 1787 would cease to operate when Ohio should become a state and that therefore the people themselves had a perfect right to decide the question of slavery. Some in the convention were anxious to hold out this inducement of a limited slavery to those who might come into the territory from the South and later free their slaves. The chairman claimed that he had introduced a clause which was regarded by the greatest men in the nation as a long step toward emancipation.[2]

When the clause, as written by Cutler, came up for debate before the whole convention, amendments were offered by the friends of slavery to change the form of the clause and weaken it. But after a heated debate, the original form, absolutely excluding slavery, was passed by a ma-

[1] *Cf.* Julia Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler*, p. 74.

[2] *Cf.* B. A. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest* (1899), pp. 345-346. Also for Jefferson's supposed connection with the subject, *cf.* Julia Cutler, *Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler*, pp. 74 and 75 (footnote). It seems from this latter reference that Cutler believed that Jefferson himself had some part in recommending the limited slavery clause. Cutler seems to have been told by Worthington of a conversation with Jefferson in which Jefferson expressed the hope that there would not be any effort made for anything further than a limited slavery clause, because the entire exclusion from the state would operate against the interests of those who wished to emigrate from the slave states to Ohio.

Hon. A. H. Lewis, member of the Ohio Senate, 1846-7, had a conversation with Jeremiah Morrow, who told him that when he (Morrow) went to Congress in 1803, as Ohio's first representative, he visited Jefferson and the article on the exclusion of slavery was disapproved by the President who said, "It would have been more judicious to have admitted slavery for a limited time." The above note is simply given for what it is worth.

jority of one vote. The provision in the constitution regulating indenture was evidently aimed at the probable attempts to circumvent this clause against slavery.

There seem to have been two motives working toward the introduction of some sort of servitude, first, the self-interest of slave-holders, second, the political motive which held out a limited slavery clouse as a premium to attract immigration into the new state. But a considerable number of settlers were opposed on principle to the institution of human slavery. Besides, the strong economic interests of the vigorous pioneer population, many of whom had seen the disadvantages of slave labor, prompted them to exclude slavery from the State by a provision in the first constitution.

Legislation in Reference to Negroes, under the Constitution.—There was a large class in the State which was not much concerned to what extent slavery existed in other states so long as the institution did not invade Ohio. These men did not oppose slavery except in practice within their own state. In fact many of them believed that the continuance of slavery in the South was a good business proposition for Ohio,[1] because desirable elements of population were thus drawn to free soil from the South and the State's prosperity was increased. Others looked upon slavery as a necessary evil to be restricted, if this were possible without destroying friendly and business relations with the states south of the Ohio River, but had no particular regard for the rights of the blacks as individuals. To such men, very many of whom had come from the South,[2] the southern

[1] *Cf.* Caleb Atwater, *History of Ohio*, p. 331.

[2] It is significant that Kentucky, which had 221,000 population in 1800, had only 780,000 in 1840; but Ohio, which had 45,000 in 1800, had increased to 1,519,000 in 1840.

slaveholders looked for support in upholding the institution of slavery where it had been established and in preventing the escape of their slaves.

We are not surprised, therefore, at the treatment accorded the blacks within the State during the first half-century of its history. The same motive, that would exclude slavery for economic reasons, would seek to make it uncomfortable for the incapable and poverty-stricken negroes within the State, in order to deter the immigration of such. The settlers in the southern part of the State knew well the qualities and character of the blacks. They had abundant evidence that freedom did not increase the happiness of the colored man or better his economic condition. Many had soon learned to hold him in absolute contempt. Ohio must not be the dumping-ground for such persons. As most of the incoming negroes settled in southern Ohio this region had most need to protect itself against them.[1]

North Carolina had already (1795) passed a law compelling the freed black to give bond for £200 or leave the state. This act amounted to practical expulsion.[2] Ohio quickly followed this example. At the second session of the legislature it was pointed out that many negroes were coming into the State and that unless something was done the river counties would be infested with a shiftless and dependent population from the border states. Accord-

[1] Colored people in Ohio:

1800	337	1830	9,568
1810	1,899	1840	17,342
1820	4,723	1850	25,279

Cf. Census of 1850, table v. In 1850 the counties with over 500 each were in the southern part of the state, and only Franklin, Gallia, Hamilton and Ross had over 1000 each. Hamilton, with Cincinnati, had by far the most. *Cf.* table i.

[2] *Cf.* Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 219.

ingly, an act was passed in the House, in December, 1803, by a vote of nineteen to eight, requiring negroes and mulattoes, before settling in the state, to present a certificate of freedom from some court in the United States. The law also required the families already resident within the state to register within a specified time. One who employed a colored person without a certificate of freedom was made liable to fine, and, in addition, to payment of fifty cents per day to the master of the slave for the service. One who aided a fugitive to escape was subject to heavy fine. An analysis of the vote by counties on this bill shows that the counties having the largest number of southern settlers and the largest negro population favored the bill; while Washington and Trumbull counties, the centers of New England population, voted against it.[1]

In 1807 the law was made more severe. No negro or mulatto was permitted to settle in the state without giving bond to the extent of $500, signed by two freeholders who must thus guarantee behavior and support. It was made the duty of township overseers to remove as paupers all who did not comply with the provision. If enforced, this law meant practical expulsion from the state, as in the case of North Carolina in 1795, but for years it was practically held in abeyance. The law further forbade any negro or mulatto from testifying in a court of justice where a white man was a party. The vote in the House stood twenty to nine but many counties were divided in opinion.[2] It is quite evident that opinion was general over the state that the negro ought to be kept out if possible.

Add to these acts the exclusion of the free blacks from participation in the benefits of the school fund of the state,

[1] *Cf. Journals of the House*, December 22, 1803, for vote.

[2] *Cf. House Journals*, January 21, 1807.

and it is clear that the negro was completely subordinated during a period of almost a half century.

The law of 1807 was later used to rid Cincinnati of its rapidly increasing negro population which came easily across the Ohio to find refuge in the city. In 1829 notice was given that all who had not complied with the law within thirty days must leave the city. A committee was sent to Canada by the colored people to find out whether they would be welcome there. The governor of Canada promised equal treatment as British subjects. Meanwhile, the time, which had been extended to sixty days, expired before the return of the committee. The people of the city became excited and a mob undertook to expel the negroes who had not complied with the law. Violence prevailed for several days. Even to the city officers the negroes applied in vain for protection.[1] The result was that about half of the colored people of Cincinnati moved to Canada where they formed the Wilberforce settlement.

Judge Burnet, a Whig of Cincinnati, in commenting on these "Black Laws" and the action of Cincinnati, declared that Ohio had excluded slavery and wished to escape its evils. The free blacks were not wanted because their worthless character was familiar to the people of southern Ohio. He defended the laws as "justifiable and commendable."[2] It was only natural that the most severe application of the law should occur at Cincinnati because there the

[1] *Cf. Report on Conditions of People of Color*, Boston, 1836. Taken from *Proceedings of Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention*, held at Putnam, Ohio, April 22–24, 1835.

[2] *Cf. Niles Register*, vol. xxxviii, p. 145. For other examples of the free colored people's shiftless character, *cf. Niles Register*, vol. xlix, p. 76, and *African Repository*, vol. iii, p. 157. Also *cf. Archaeological and Historical Publications*, vol. vi, pp. 275–285, for facts as to a colony of freed slaves in southeastern Ohio and their failure to become economically independent.

largest number of blacks always congregated. The economic inferiority of the colored population was a lasting cause of antipathy among a people who had settled the region north of the Ohio in order to secure better opportunities. It must also be remembered that this opposition to the immigration of the negroes was not inconsistent with repugnance to slavery as an institution.

There was much persecution of the negroes who resided in the State. In Cincinnati they were not admitted except to the most menial employment. No member of the Mechanical Association of the city was allowed to assist a negro to learn a trade.[1] Even the skilled colored worker was refused employment, or, if the employer received him, it was at the risk of a strike by the other workmen.

Excluded as witnesses in cases where whites were involved and prevented from serving on a jury, the blacks suffered much injustice at the hands of the more vicious whites.[2] These laws continued in force under protest from many good citizens of the State. On January 15, 1839 the House voted against their repeal forty-seven to sixteen, thus showing how strong was the feeling still against negro immigration. An analysis of this vote shows that the demand for repeal came from the northern part of the state where the people did not feel the evil of the negro's presence. The southern counties were still a unit as to the wisdom of the laws.[3]

[1] *Cf. Report on Conditions of People of Color, op. cit.* In 1830 the president of the association was tried for this offense.

[2] *Cf. ibid.* This report cites specific cases on trial where these rank injustices were perpetrated.

[3] *Cf. House Journals*, January 15, 1839, for vote. They speak in the resolution about "indirectly inviting the black population of other states to emigrate to this state, to the manifest injury of the public interest." *Cf. Journal*, 1839, p. 235.

The law of 1807 had contained a provision imposing a heavy fine upon anyone who aided a fugitive slave. But many slaves from Kentucky escaped across the river, to find friends on the Ohio side willing to aid their flight. Dissatisfaction increased on the part of the slave-holders, until in 1839 a protest was sent to the Ohio legislature asking for a more strict fugitive-slave law. The legislature proved subservient to the wishes of the Kentucky slave-owners because the southern counties were almost a unit in their opposition to the entrance of negroes into the state, and, besides, these same counties had very close social and business relations with the South at this period. The Ohio River, as we have shown, was the great artery of trade and the South was the great market for the products of Cincinnati's industries. The steamboat had been perfected on the river, the canals had been constructed, and the interior of the State had been opened by better communication. From a business point of view slavery was a good thing for southern Ohio, especially Cincinnati. The representatives from this region were not inclined to allow disturbance of friendly relations and so the deputation from Kentucky was received with marked courtesy. The analysis of the vote in the House, February 11, 1839, will show that, with fifty-three votes in favor of a drastic fugitive slave law and fifteen opposed, almost all the opposition came from the northern counties where the people were not so closely in contact with the problem.[1]

[1] *Cf. House Journal*, 1839, p. 423, for the vote. The method of analyzing these votes has been to take the "ayes" and "nays" and classify them by counties, securing the names of the representatives from each county by reference to E. H. Gilkey's *Hundred Year Book*, pp. 186 *et seq.*

The law was, in substance, as follows: The master or his agent was authorized to apply to any judge, justice or mayor, who upon application was required to issue a warrant to any sheriff in the state, directing him

The attitude toward the negro shown in the constitutional convention of 1850 must finally be considered. Ohio's attitude toward the institution of slavery was tending at this time to become strongly anti-slavery, but the opinion of a majority in the convention still remained in strong opposition to the negro immigration and to extending the franchise. Petitions asking for laws prohibiting colored people from entering the state were received in great numbers. Some desired to revive the "Black Laws," which had been repealed the preceding year, and to make them a part of the constitution. Daniel Drake of Cincinnati, one of the prominent Ohio pioneers, asked the convention to prohibit the entrance of both emancipated and fugitive slaves and to provide for laws to favor African colonization.[1] The petitions unfavorable to the negro came very largely from the counties bordering on the Ohio River. Mr. Sawyer, in a debate over the question of allowing the negroes to participate in the school fund, gave utterance to the feeling of these southern counties. He said, "In those counties where abolitionism and free-soilism predominate there are the fewest negroes. It is the southern counties bordering on Kentucky where there is the largest proportion of negroes; and those counties are the least friendly to provisions for the encouragement of their immigration or remaining in the state." [2]

to arrest a fugitive and bring him before any judge in the county in which arrested. If the claimant could prove his legal right to the fugitive, to the satisfaction of the court, then a certificate was issued for removal. A heavy fine and imprisonment were the penalties for hindering the execution of a warrant. The law made Ohio a hunting ground for slaves and enlisted her officials in the quest. It gave every facility for securing a warrant and executing it under a friendly official. Such was the law suggested to Ohio legislators by southern slave-holders.

[1] *Cf. Debates of the Convention*, 2 vols., for the petitions.

[2] *Debates*, vol. ii, p. 12.

The vote of the convention on the extension of the franchise resulted in sixty-six votes opposed to twelve in favor. All those who favored were from the extreme northern counties without exception.[1] Such an extension was evidently not in accord with public opinion and, if incorporated, would have prevented the ratification of the constitution.

The Growth of Anti-Slavery Ideas before 1830.—As early as 1712, Pennsylvania had tried to prevent the importation of slaves but the English government was too much interested in the large profits of the traffic to permit such action. It was not, therefore, until 1780 that a law was passed emancipating those held in bondage.[2] In consequence of this action, the settlers, who came from Pennsylvania to Ohio, had their opinions formed and their traditions established as far as the institution of slavery among themselves was concerned.

The agitation against slavery and attempts at remedy before 1830 were carried on mainly by persons who lived in or adjoining the slave states. Efforts toward amelioration of conditions and gradual emancipation grew up in the South itself and throughout the border states, among liberal-minded and far-seeing people who realized the true evils of the system as well as the difficulties of the problem of emancipation. Such efforts were carried on through the religious denominations, through organized agitation for emancipation, and through the scheme of colonization. These movements all very early touched Ohio, coming with the population from the regions where the agitation had been going on in the southern and border states.

The investigations of Stephen B. Weeks showed the

[1] *Cf. Debates*, vol. ii, pp. 554–555.

[2] *Cf.* C. A. Hanna, *The Scotch Irish*, vol. ii, p. 137.

early Quaker influence in Virginia as well as in Pennsylvania. This sect had begun to oppose slavery in the South when it had no opponents there. Down to 1765, since emancipation was impossible, they sought to ameliorate the conditions of the slave. They secured a law in Virginia in 1782 permitting the owner to emancipate his slaves. The great body of Quakers owning slaves at once set them free.[1] This period of emancipation was characterized by petitions to the Virginia legislature against slavery and the formation of societies to agitate and persuade slave-owners to set their slaves free.[2] We have already explained that after 1800 large numbers of these Quakers left Virginia to settle in Ohio upon free soil. Their little communities became centers of anti-slavery feeling in Ohio and many routes of the Underground System were operated by them.

In North Carolina also the Quakers were prevented from emancipating slaves by state law but they began their agitation as early as 1758, with the object first to secure permission to emancipate and then to secure rights for the freed blacks. Under such conditions the Quakers often aided the escape of blacks from the state and thus the idea of the Underground Railroad had its origin. On account of the severity of the law, the Friends in North Carolina organized a corporation to take over slaves by assignment from masters willing to emancipate them, and then sent them out of the state. By 1814 over 350 had thus been transferred to the agents of the society. Of these a number had been sent to Pennsylvania and other states in the North.[3] Such movements caused Ohio to retain her "Black Laws" already

[1] *Cf.* Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 212.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 213 *et seq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 224–228.

described. The opening for these free negroes in the North was soon restricted and the African colonization scheme was inaugurated. It must be remembered that many of these Quakers from North Carolina also came to Ohio to settle in the southern counties of the state.

The first journal in the United States to advocate immediate and unconditional emancipation was issued by a Quaker, Charles Osborn, at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in 1817. Osborn was born in North Carolina, but at nineteen years of age moved to Tennessee where in 1814 he helped to organize emancipation societies. From here he travelled over the South agitating for the freedom of the slave, and organizing societies for that purpose.[1] In 1816, after founding organizations of this character in his native state, he removed to Ohio and in August of the following year published the first number of the "Philanthropist." Garrison was but a boy when Osborn began his agitation against slavery.[2]

Benjamin Lundy, another prominent Quaker anti-slavery advocate, was an agent for Osborn's paper, the "Philanthropist." He lived at St. Clairsville, Ohio, where in 1815 he called a few friends together and organized an anti-slavery society called the "Union Humane Society."[3] After Osborn sold his paper, Lundy published, in 1821, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation" at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. He soon moved the paper to Tennessee where he continued to organize manumission and colonization societies. He finally established the paper at Baltimore. There he became the first great abolition journalist and made his influence strongly felt in directing the agitation.

[1] *Cf.* Weeks, *op. cit.*, pp. 235 *et seq.* See also footnote.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 237 (footnote).

[3] *Cf. Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, vol. viii, p. 156 (footnote). Also shows Lundy's connection with the "Philanthropist."

Before 1830 anti-slavery societies had appeared in New Jersey, Kentucky, New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Ohio, North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland. In the Southern and Middle States there were at this time over 100 such societies, while New England had none.[1] They held meetings, issued addresses, petitioned legislatures, protected negroes, and published papers to direct public opinion. From 1794 to 1829 delegates from these local societies in the border states met in convention, at first annually, and then at two and three-year periods. This organization was known as the "American Convention of Delegates from Abolition Societies." [2]

As slavery grew more profitable and opposition to anti-slavery agitation in the South became stronger, this convention declined, giving place to the colonization movement.

In Ohio societies were very early organized to oppose slavery. One of these, organized by Lundy, has already been mentioned. Many men of strong personality came into the State from Pennsylvania and the South with decided convictions against slavery. About these men gathered little groups that shared their feelings.[3] The number of groups increased under the pressure of opposition and the need for better organization.

The frontier religious denominations, the Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists, had a large part in promoting anti-slavery opinion. The churches were recruited on the extending frontiers largely from a people that did not own slaves. The governing bodies of these churches had early expressed themselves as opposed to the institution.

[1] *Cf.* A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, American Nation Series, vol. xvi, pp. 160–161.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 161–162.

[3] *Cf.* C. T. Hickok, *The Negro in Ohio* (1896), pp. 147–148.

In the first constitutional convention of Kentucky, in 1792, there was a resolute effort to insert a clause for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State. There were three Baptist, one Methodist, one Dutch Reformed, and one Presbyterian minister in the convention, all of whom voted for the clause. One of these ministers was later elected governor, and another, David Rice, moved later into Ohio, where he became active in anti-slavery agitation.[1] Many others of these strong opponents of slavery moved on from Kentucky and Tennessee into Ohio to become leaders of the anti-slavery movement.[2] John Rankin, the noted abolitionist preacher of southern Ohio, came from the region of eastern Tennessee, where Lundy and Osborn had organized anti-slavery societies. Rankin, after coming to Ohio, published his "Letters on Slavery," which Hart calls a sort of text-book for abolitionists.[3]

The Synods of the Presbyterian Church in western Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky during the first quarter of the century opposed slavery and favored emancipation of some sort.[4] Such also was the general attitude of Methodists and Baptists. They had much to say in resolutions about the moral evils of slavery. Even in 1820, in Tennessee and Kentucky, the Methodist Church was making it very uncomfortable for members who held or bought

[1] *Cf.* Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, vol. iv, p. 222.

[2] *Cf.* William Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times* (1890), pp. 431–435. These pages describe a number of specific cases giving the biography of many of the men who came to Ohio and who afterwards continued their opposition to slavery.

[3] *Cf. Slavery and Abolition*, American Nation Series, vol. xvi, p. 159.

[4] In 1818 the Presbyterian Assembly declared against slavery as a "gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature." It further declared it to be the duty of Christians, as fast as possible, to efface the blot and obtain complete abolition. *Cf.* L. W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity* (1901), pp. 268–269.

slaves.[1] Soon after 1830 the attitude of the churches began to change. The reasons for this change will be presented in a following section.

Colonization. — Another solution for the vexing problem of slavery had been early advocated in the South itself. In 1816 the Colonization Society took definite organization, with the object of transporting the freed slaves out of the country. We have noted already that the Quakers in North Carolina availed themselves of this means of helping the negro when they could no longer send him north. The southern people held the free black in contempt because of his worthlessness, and feared him because of his power to do harm. Consequently, the state legislatures of Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland were persuaded to contribute money for the support of the society in the hope of getting rid of an undesirable element in the population. Many persons thus hoped to encourage voluntary emancipation. The churches regarded the movement as benevolent and missionary in its outlook.[2] During the decade 1820-1830 the Society, with the expenditure of $100,000, transported only 1,162 blacks.[3]

Southern Ohio had many societies, because this method of solving the difficult problem appealed to many as an easy and quiet way of getting rid of a despised people. An examination of the records of the Colonization Society, published in the *African Repository* from year to year, shows

[1] In 1824 the General Methodist Conference passed a resolution on slavery, declaring it a great evil, and making a slaveholder ineligible to office in the church where the state permitted emancipation. The resolution also emphasized the need of teaching slaves. *Cf.* Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1845), vol. iii, p. 275.

[2] *Cf. African Repository*, vol. xxix, p. 314.

[3] *Cf.* Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–164.

that there were societies over the entire state, but that the most active ones were located where the negroes were most numerous. It must be remembered, too, that the strong anti-slavery counties of the northern part of the state did not strongly favor colonization because they did not consider it an adequate or just remedy for the evils of slavery.[1] Cincinnati contributed most in money to the support of the society, since this city had the most negroes and was most interested in getting rid of them without stirring up any trouble with the South.[2] The legislature passed resolutions favoring the scheme.

The matter was introduced also into the constitutional convention of 1850. Here, too, appeared the division between the southern and northern counties of the state.[3] The convention finally drew up a memorial, signed by two-thirds of the members, which was presented to the United States Senate by Senator Ewing from Ohio. It requested the federal government to establish a line of steamers between the United States and Liberia, on the ground of giving an impulse to colonization.[4] The southern states were taking steps to drive out their free blacks, and Ohio did not want them. Why not send them to Africa? The Cincinnati papers were emphasizing in strong terms the need of self-protection. They held up to view the dark picture of a time soon coming when white laborers would be crowded

[1] This attitude is shown by the vote in the House, Feb. 4, 1850, on a resolution requesting the general government to use all honorable means to induce the free blacks to emigrate to Africa. The northern anti-slavery counties opposed the resolution. *Cf. House Journal*, 1850, p. 280.

[2] These contributions are recorded in the *African Repository*, from year to year.

[3] *Cf. Debates*, vol. ii, p. 604.

[4] *Cf. American Colonization Society Reports, Thirty-fourth Annual Report*, 1851, p. 74.

out by a "pestiferous class of ignorant blacks," and predicted the reign of crime and want.[1]

But in spite of all the efforts to stimulate interest in colonization in Ohio, from 1820 to 1853 only forty-eight colored persons were sent from Ohio to Africa. Of these, forty-one were sent in a single year (1833).[2]

More Radical Abolition and Anti-Abolition in Ohio.— Through the early years of Ohio's history, little groups of earnest men had gathered about certain leaders who had no compromise to make with slavery. As has been pointed out, many of the early leaders came from the South itself, where they had become familiar with the evils of slavery. With them there was no question of expediency in dealing with the problem. They could not do less than advocate absolute abolition. After 1830 public opinion in the South was so opposed to an open expression of anti-slavery views that many abolitionists removed to the free states. In Ohio the settlers from New England were pronounced anti-slavery men. Altogether there was a considerable number of men scattered over the state who were ready to take heroic measures to rid the country of the stain of human bondage, and for whom economic interests were not the ruling motive. Naturally therefore a more radical and effective opposition to slavery developed.[3]

The development of more radical abolition in Ohio can be shown best, perhaps, in the life of James G. Birney, who later was nominated for President by the Free Soil Party.

[1] *Cf. American Colonization Society Reports*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[2] *Cf. African Repository*, vol. xxx, p. 121.

[3] *Cf.* C. A. Hanna, *Historical Collections of Harrison County*, pp. 137–138. This gives account of abolition in southeastern Ohio. The Short Creek Valley from Cadiz to Mount Pleasant was an abolition centre. Scotch-Irish and Quaker settlers favored abolition. This is the region where Osborn and Lundy first advocated emancipation.

Born at Danville, Kentucky, in 1792, of Scotch-Irish descent, he early came under the influence of Rev. David Rice, the Presbyterian emancipationist who labored to secure the clause against slavery in the first Kentucky constitution. In 1832 Birney was engaged, in different parts of the South, in the work of pushing the colonization movement. Later he began organizing emancipation societies in his native state.[1] These did not meet his expectation.

Having lost faith in colonization and gradual emancipation as solutions of the problem, he began the more radical course of anti-slavery agitation in 1834 and 1835. During the first of these years he published a letter on colonization which attracted national attention. He was now an abolitionist in a slave state. Ostracized in Kentucky, he came to Ohio in 1835.

The anti-slavery forces of Ohio, 110 delegates from twenty-five counties, had just assembled at Putnam, near Zanesville, to organize a state movement. Of these delegates eighty-three, or seventy-five per cent, came from sixteen southern counties of the state. Washington county, the center of New England influence in southern Ohio, was not represented. The president of the convention was Colonel Robert Stewart, of Ross county.[2]

The time was ripe for the appearance of Birney in Ohio. He attended the convention at Putnam and was elected a corresponding member. He took part in its deliberations and influenced its decisions.

His next move was to attempt the publication of an abo-

[1] *Cf.* William Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times*, pp. 111–132.

[2] *Cf. Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention at Putnam, Ohio, 1835*, pp. 1–3. This records the names of delegates by counties, officers, *etc.* Also *cf.* Birney, *op. cit.*, pp. 166–170. He gives the names and sketches of the leaders at this convention. The Lane Seminary group and John Rankin were prominent.

lition paper in Cincinnati, to be the organ of the anti-slavery forces of the Ohio Valley. Three of the four Cincinnati dailies published unfriendly paragraphs calling the abolitionists fanatics. The *Post* said, "Send them (the abolitionists) back whence they came, and if any of their authors or the agents of them should be found here, lynch them." [1] Both political parties opposed abolition, and these papers were their organs. Birney was notified that, if he published an anti-slavery paper in the city, the authorities would not be able to protect his property or person against violence. He did begin the publication of the "Philanthropist," in December, 1835, outside the city. The *Whig* of Cincinnati said about it, "We deem this new effort an insult to our slave-holding neighbors and an attempt to browbeat public opinion." [2]

Cincinnati was vitally interested in maintaining harmonious relations with the South, to which the city was bound by many economic and social ties. Before this time the state historian, Caleb Atwater, had declared that, "as a state it is our interest, in Ohio, to have slavery in the slave-holding states for a century yet, otherwise our growth would be checked. The broad and deep streams of wealth, numbers, enterprise, youth and vigor of the slave-holding states, now rolling into Ohio like mighty floods, would be stayed." [3] Such an utterance shows the deep underlying cause for a violent opposition to the more radical abolition views in Ohio after 1835. These abolitionists were the friends of the free blacks and the fugitive slaves. They were giving the slave-owners of the border states no little concern, and complaints were coming from Kentucky against the assistance rendered by Ohio citizens to fugitives. The southerners feared also

[1] *Cf.* Birney, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 209.
[3] *History of Ohio* (1838), p. 331.

that the abolitionists were planting seeds of discontent which might result in insurrection among their slaves. Southern Ohio thus became the battle-ground of opposing forces and Cincinnati naturally became the center of the struggle.

In January, 1836, a public meeting was held in Cincinnati, called by capitalists, merchants, tradesmen, and politicians, to suppress abolition agitation. Mayor Davies presided while both Whig and Democratic politicians were seated on the platform. No violence was attempted on this occasion.[1]

Birney now moved his paper into the city, mob violence soon followed, and his property was destroyed.[2] The sympathy of the authorities protected the leaders and no effort was made either to prevent or punish. In this case, as in many others, the agitation led to violent attempts to suppress free speech and to encroach on the rights of citizens of a free state. But the paper was reëstablished and continued its bold declaration of the views of its supporters.

In 1840 Birney took a final step by entering the race for the Presidency as the candidate of a third party whose avowed purpose was the abolition of slavery. The two old parties had adherents in both North and South, and to hold both of these elements in a solid organization became increasingly difficult as the gravity of the slavery question increased. The result was a long compromise by both Whigs and Democrats.

[1] *Cf.* Birney, *op. cit.*, pp. 211–215.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 241–255. Before the mob, a meeting was called "to decide whether they will permit the publication and distribution of abolition papers in the city." A committee of twelve was appointed, with Judge Burnet and other prominent Whigs and Democrats, to remonstrate with Birney. Birney refused to discontinue the paper on the ground that it was suppression of free speech and disgraceful subservience to the South. The newspapers incited the mob to violence.

Lane Seminary Debate and Secession.—The Seminary at Cincinnati had been a center of slavery discussion.[1] The group of students from the South included sons of slaveholders, and both sides of the problem were discussed. Finally in 1832 a debate was arranged. For eighteen consecutive evenings warm discussions on colonization and abolition continued. A majority of the students became abolitionists and went out into the city among the colored people to establish Sunday and day schools for the children.

The trustees of Lane then voted to suppress discussion in the interests of the seminary, but when free speech was curtailed four-fifths of the students withdrew and many of them joined in a public statement that they could not give up their right to inquire into slavery.[2] These students became the missionaries of abolition. Asa Mahan, a Cincinnati minister, resigned from the board of trustees of the Seminary, and John Morgan, a member of the faculty, left the institution. These men with about thirty students moved from southern Ohio to Oberlin where was begun practically the first organized and aggressive abolition movement in Ohio.[3] This town and the college founded there became the great abolition center of the West.[4] Thus the intolerance of Cincinnati and southern Ohio toward the free expression of

[1] *Cf.* W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, p. 240. Mrs. Stowe wrote, "If the abolition excitement had stirred up Boston, it had convulsed Cincinnati."

[2] *Cf.* A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, pp. 190–191.

[3] *Cf.* A. B. Hart, *Salmon P. Chase*, American Statesmen, vol. xxviii, pp. 41–42.

[4] In 1843 a bill was introduced into the Ohio legislature to revoke the charter of the college on account of its work for abolition. This bill was postponed in the House by a vote of thirty-six to twenty-nine. The opposition votes came from the southern and central parts of the state. *Cf. House Journals*, 1843, pp. 227–8.

opinion on slavery forced the advocates of abolition into an open and more aggressive opposition. Asa Mahan became president of Oberlin College on condition that colored students be admitted. The trustees yielded on this point only when they found it necessary in order to secure the services of Mahan as their president.

Anti-slavery societies grew rapidly in numbers under the agitation now carried on, until the convention, before mentioned, at Putnam called together the forces of anti-slavery in order to organize a state movement. Attempts to suppress freedom of expression only served to increase the number of societies in the parts of the state where opposition was strong. Social pressure on the one side was met by stronger organization on the other. Whereas the number of local societies in 1836 was 120, the next year it almost doubled, becoming 213 with 17,253 members.[1]

At this period of storm and stress there appeared a marked change in the attitude of the religious denominations. The frontier churches had a large membership, North and South, which they desired to hold together. As in political affairs, compromise resulted. Many southern preachers had discovered that slavery was just and righteous, to be defended by citations from the Bible. The South had become more intolerant, because of economic considerations, the extreme methods of abolitionists, and a panic of fear following the Nat Turner insurrection. There was manifested, in turn, in the North, especially in southern Ohio, much sympathy with the southern point of view, as well as prejudice against the negro and disgust with

[1] *Cf.* Caleb Atwater, *History of Ohio*, p. 324. Also on page 329 Atwater points out how few anti-slavery societies were organized in the central part of the state, and accounts for it by the freedom of discussion there as compared with the southern part of the state.

the methods of abolitionists. There was a growing fear of disunion. Political parties were competing for southern votes, commercial houses for southern business, and, in the rising frenzy of excitement, the religious sects tried to conciliate opposing factions by concessions or silence. Social pressure was working within the churches to suppress free expression of opinion.

During November, 1835, the Ohio Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church met at Springfield, Ohio. A committee reported on abolition and colonization. No offense could be given by indorsing colonization as a "noble and benevolent institution" which did not disturb the "peace and harmony of society." But the same committee condemned abolition in sweeping terms, including the anti-slavery societies and their agents. It characterized the measures of the abolitionists as high-handed, calculated to produce alarm and give offense in the South. The right of each state to settle the slavery issue for itself was asserted and the committee condemned all inflammatory lectures and publications in favor of immediate abolition.[1]

The next year, the General Conference at Cincinnati condemned abolition and censured two members for speaking at anti-slavery meetings. This action was taken by a vote of 120 to 14, showing how overwhelming the sentiment on the subject was.[2] The churches of southern Ohio closed their doors to free discussion. They were thus subservient to the opinions of the South and followed the wishes of a large majority of the church membership. This agita-

[1] *Cf. African Repository*, vol. xi, pp. 332–333.

[2] *Cf.* Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1845), vol. iv, pp. 242–246. Resolutions on page 246. One resolution states, "We disclaim any right, wish or intention to interfere in the civil and political relations between master and slave as they exist in the slave-holding states."

tion grew until the separation finally took place within the church itself.

The same attitude was shown in the Presbyterian and Baptist churches after 1830 until they too were divided in the struggle.[1] At this period southern Ohio was most strongly represented in these three denominations, as will be shown in the next chapter. As a result the struggle between opposing factions in the churches became most evident in this region.

The attitude of the state authorities with reference to the agitation against slavery is also a matter of record. Governor Lucas, in a message to the legislature in 1835, deprecated the conduct of persons of the free states who were arousing excitement and alarm in the South.[2]

In 1839 the legislature recommended by resolution that the regulation of slavery be left to each state, and declared that agitation against slavery was a violation of faith among the states of the confederation. The schemes of the abolitionists were characterized as, "wild, delusive, and fanatical, tending to destroy the Union. Further, it was held to be "unwise, impolitic and inexpedient" to repeal the "Black Laws" in the state, because this would put blacks on an equality with whites and would invite the colored population from other states to the injury of public interests.[3] These resolutions and others of a similar character were passed by large majorities, the only opposition of any importance coming from the extreme northern part of the state. Such action shows how much the Ohio legislature was in sympathy with the southern view at this

[1] *Cf.* Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, pp. 213–214.

[2] *Cf. Niles Register*, vol. xlix, p. 291.

[3] *Cf. Niles Register*, vol. lvi, p. 66. Also *House Journals*, 1839, pp. 33–234.

period, or at least how reluctant it was to disturb harmonious relations of economic and social interests, and how absolutely opposed the members were to encourage the immigration of colored people from the slave states.

The Underground Railroad and the National Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850.—It has already been pointed out that the Quakers of North Carolina gave secret assistance to escaping slaves early in the century and thus suggested the idea of the underground system which became so effective in Ohio after the rise of a definite anti-slavery movement in the state.[1] Many of these same Quakers settled in their little communities in southern Ohio and aided the fugitives to freedom. This was a practical method of emancipation that appealed to many besides Quakers.

There were many anti-slavery preachers in southern Ohio, several of whom have been referred to in preceding pages, who, with their church members, became active in aiding escaping slaves.[2] Presbyterians, Baptists, Scotch Covenanters and Methodists were mentioned in connection with this work from the close of the war of 1812. Western abolition was more practical than eastern because it was face to face with slavery and many of its warmest advocates were men who had left the South because of slavery. Rigid state and national laws made the work of these practical emancipators necessarily secret, and therefore dangerous and subject to social disapproval, especially in the southern part of the state. They were persecuted, hated, and visited with the penalties of the law.

The organization of the state anti-slavery society in 1835 and the rapid spread of local societies gave better opportuni-

[1] *Cf.* W. H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad* (1899), p. 117. Organized by the Coffin family as early as 1819.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 32 for some of the prominent names.

ties to assist fugitives from place to place. The operators of the Underground Railroad were generally active members of these societies. One of the most active of these was Rev. John Rankin, pastor for thirty-three years at Ripley on the Ohio River, who had come from the South and had been most influential in gathering the anti-slavery forces of the State. Even Garrison sometimes spoke of himself as a disciple of Rankin.[1] His home on the banks of the Ohio became a refuge for escaping slaves.

Levi Coffin, a Quaker, came from North Carolina to Indiana in 1826 and later to Cincinnati. He had been a member of the family which organized the underground system in his native state a few years before, and he became known in the North as the "President of the Underground Railroad." By his own personal efforts in Indiana and Ohio he aided the escape of hundreds of slaves.[2]

Through Ohio lay the shortest route between the slave-holding states and Canada, and along the shores of Lake Erie was the Western Reserve with its New England population which was largely anti-slavery in its views and ready to assist the fugitive. Therefore, more underground lines naturally developed in Ohio than elsewhere. The long line of contact with slave territory, and the presence of many friends of the slaves along the river favored the escape of the fugitives. The routes from Kentucky and western Virginia, with northern terminals at Cleveland, Sandusky and Detroit, were used more than any others. There were more stations in the southwestern part of the state around Cincinnati, and in the southeastern part because in these regions anti-slavery men were most numerous.

[1] *Cf.* Siebert, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

[2] As to why Coffin came to Cincinnati to live, *cf.* C. T. Hickok, *The Negro in Ohio*, p. 151.

Prof. Siebert estimates, after a careful investigation of the subject, that during the period, 1830 to 1860, at least 40,000 fugitives were helped on Ohio soil.[1] The same writer tabulates by name and county over 1500 persons actively engaged in this work of aiding the fugitive slaves, but this number can include only a mere fraction of those actually engaged.[2] The tabulation indicates where the greatest amount of aid was given.

The underground system became a potent force in shaping public sentiment because it diffused knowledge throughout the State as to the evils of slavery, and made the people conscious before long that the existence of the institution in neighboring states was limiting their own freedom and endangering the independence of the commonwealth. The complaints from the South, especially from Kentucky, had already resulted in sweeping legislation as to fugitives and strong resolutions upon the abolitionists. But the anti-slavery forces only drew into closer organization and became more determined. Southern Ohio became a battleground, not only of opinions, but in fact between the fugitives and their friends on the one side and the pursuing slave-hunters on the other.

The very year (1839) that the Ohio legislature passed the legislation above referred to, a riot occurred at Marion, Ohio. A negro had been claimed as a fugitive from Virginia. He was brought before the court and after a hear-

[1] *Cf. Underground Railroad*, p. 346. Map of routes p. 112.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 415–431. See summary on p. 351. Counties showing the largest number of workers:

Ashtabula	51	Hamilton	54	Morgan	71
Brown	69	Highland	44	Stark	40
Erie	62	Jefferson	42	Washington	50
Gallia	45	Logan	53		

ing was set free. The alleged owners seized him in open court. They were unable however to prevent the crowd from finally rescuing him.[1] In another case, in 1845, three Ohio citizens of Washington county, accused of assisting escaping slaves, were seized by Virginians, taken across the river to Parkersburg, Virginia, and there lodged in jail. Here was a conflict of jurisdiction. Bail was refused and the Ohio citizens were finally tried in Virginia for an offense committed on Ohio soil.[2]

The incident at Cincinnati in 1836 has already been described in the story of the attempt to suppress free speech by destroying Birney's press. Lane Seminary had suppressed discussion and the churches had closed their doors to open debate of the question of slavery. But why multiply cases, showing the invasion of the liberties of the citizens of a free commonwealth because of the existence of slavery on the borders of the State?

Although many cared nothing for the freedom of the slave, they did care to preserve their own independence. A new danger from slavery began to loom large and a more determined anti-slavery movement began to crystallize, not so violent as before 1840, but far more effective.[3] Four years after its enactment, Ohio's fugitive-slave law was repealed. Salmon P. Chase, at this time a resident of Cincinnati, had witnessed the disgraceful mob of 1836 with disgust and deep concern.[4] He was aroused not so much by the wrongs of the negro as by the danger to the liberties of the whites.

[1] *Cf. Niles Register*, vol. lvii, p. 41.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. lxviii, pp. 373–374.

[3] *Cf.* Caleb Atwater, *History of Ohio*, p. 329, says, "Every riot, mob and disturbance of peaceable people assembled for deliberation on slavery or anti-slavery adds to the number of the friends of anti-slavery in the state."

[4] *Cf. S. P. Chase*, American Statesmen, vol. xxviii, p. 48.

He realized how few were open advocates of free opinion in the city. Chase and Birney became the political exponents of anti-slavery in southern Ohio, as Giddings and Wade were in the northern part of the state.

It must be pointed out also that, during the last two decades before the Civil War, the commercial relations between Ohio and the South were not so important as they had been. This was because of a rapid development of transportation by canal and railroad. The Northwest was now more closely connected with the Middle and Eastern States.

Infringement of the rights of Ohio citizens by the South itself could not pass unchallenged. The opponents of slavery were being drawn together by a pressure from outside as well as by persecution within the state. The South herself became responsible for a change of feeling after 1840, as well as for a change in the method of its expression. After 1840 there was a third political party, devoted to the cause of freedom, which gathered to itself the anti-slavery advocates who were willing to carry their opinions into politics.

Then, at the insistence of the South, the federal government passed a more drastic fugitive-slave law in 1850. Ohio's delegation in the House of Representatives gave fourteen votes against and only two in favor of this legislation, while Senator Chase opposed the bill in the Senate.[1] The law, as passed, provided no method of determining the rights of the negro who was claimed as a fugitive. It gave the master the power of an officer of the law in a state where he was not a citizen, and was harsh and repugnant to feelings of justice and humanity. The act imposed a heavy penalty for aiding fugitives and commanded all good citi-

[1] *Cf. House Journal*, September 12, 1850, pp. 1451–1452.

zens to assist in returning slaves. The federal officers were entrusted with its execution. The law called forth a storm of indignation in the North.

Ohio became at once a scene of action for slave-hunters supported by federal authority.[1] A conflict between state and federal officers resulted, leading in some cases to acts of violence.[2] Joshua R. Giddings, the staunch friend of the slave, denounced the law saying, "The freemen of Ohio will never turn out to chase the panting fugitive."[3] Petitions were sent to Congress asking for the repeal of the law. Meetings were held to protest against its injustice and inhumanity.

The commonwealth resented this invasion of rights which were considered to belong especially to the State. With the conflict, grew the sentiment against an institution which endangered the liberties of Ohio citizens and stirred up friction between neighboring states. Southern Ohio, which had been so favorable at one time to the interests of the South, and so opposed to abolition, now was moved by a feeling of state pride, and incensed at the arrogance of the southern pro-slavery leaders.

After 1850 the Democratic party sought to become a unit on a pro-slavery basis. The Whig compromise of 1850 had brought that party into utter disrepute in Ohio. In 1851 the Democrats carried the state because of the many disunited factions of the opposition. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed in 1854 at a critical moment. The Ohio delegation cast only four votes in favor of it and these

[1] *Cf. Victims of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850*, published by The American Anti-Slavery Society, 1861, for cases in Ohio.

[2] *Cf.* William H. Smith, *A Political History of Slavery*, 2 vols. (1903), vol. i, pp. 205 *et seq.* This gives an account of the "Greene County Rescue Case" which occurred in 1857, and set Ohio aflame.

[3] Siebert, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

members were promptly defeated at the next elections because of their votes.[1] The bill was carried by the South with the aid of northern Democrats. Ohio had from the first opposed the extension of slavery, and this repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused intense feeling because it opened the whole question of slavery in the territories once more. The people of the North looked with alarm upon the prospect of nationalizing the institution. So this bill served to unite the factions in Ohio into the new Republican Party which elected Chase governor of the State. He vigorously upheld the sovereignty of the state and the freedom of its citizens against the fugitive-slave law and the arrogance of a slave-holding aristocracy.

Summary.—From the material just presented, it appears that there was a desire on the part of some, from selfish and political motives, to introduce slavery into the Territory, but the majority of the settlers were determined to be free from the institution of human bondage. They were equally determined to prevent free negroes from being attracted into the State. Toward those already present they adopted a harsh policy because of their contempt for the generally shiftless character of the black, and because they wished to be free from the economic burden of supporting an increasing population of this character.

There were many in the State who from the first opposed slavery. These opponents expressed themselves through the church, the local anti-slavery society, the press, and colonization schemes. These early movements came from the South itself or from the border states where the situation was most familiar. It has been pointed out that the early leaders in these anti-slavery efforts in southern Ohio came from the South or from the border states.

[1] *Cf. House Journals*, May 22, 1854.

When the economic interest of the South in slavery grew stronger and it became more intolerant, abolition sentiment became more radical and bold and the anti-slavery movement became better organized to meet the pressure of opposition. Slaves were escaping and were being aided by friends in Ohio. The South was becoming exasperated while the North was anxious for the Union.

The economic and social interests of southern Ohio were closely connected with the South from which so large a part of the settlers had come. It was therefore natural that pressure was used to suppress abolition in Ohio, even by persecution and the use of mob violence. The state legislature, the church assemblies, public meetings, and the press denounced the abolitionists and declared in favor of leaving the method of dealing with slavery to the states where it existed. Notwithstanding this social pressure within the state, the anti-slavery movement grew.

The South, in order to retain slavery, became more bold and aggressive. The slave-hunters endangered the personal freedom of Ohio citizens, while the slaveholders demanded a more stringent national law which was abhorrent to feelings of justice and humanity. Finally state pride asserted itself against the pressure from outside, and the factions within the state were united in their desire to stay the extension of slavery.

CHAPTER V

Early Religious Influences in Southern Ohio

Introduction.—The movement toward toleration and religious freedom came from Pennsylvania and the South, not from New England. Early persecution in most of the older colonies drove dissenters to the frontiers. Jefferson, during the same year in which the colonies declared their political independence, became the successful champion of separation of church and state in Virginia.

The individualistic spirit of the border, as it extended westward, gave rise to an increasing number of sects. The radicals who sought freedom from the restraints exercised over their beliefs by the older societies were attracted to the regions where social coercion was at a minimum.

Long before the settlement of the Northwest Territory three great pioneer, dissenting denominations, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, were spreading in the regions from which Ohio's population so largely came. The beliefs and the organization of these churches were especially adapted to the frontier society within which they became a powerful influence.

Entrance of Religious Societies into Ohio.— When the first settlement was made at Marietta the Ohio Company provided for religious instruction, and Rev. Daniel Story, a native of Boston, was employed to "preach three Sundays at Marietta, two at Belpre and Waterford, in rotation." [1]

[1] *Cf.* S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, p. 259.

The solidarity of these New England settlements in all matters concerning the welfare of the community was in marked contrast to other regions of the state, settled by a population with different traditions. The first church in Marietta was of course Congregational, with thirty of its thirty-one members from churches of that denomination in New England. Other sects did not thrive in the community for several years.[1]

The Presbyterian denomination entered Ohio from Pennsylvania and Kentucky but, whether from one or the other, it represented the same people, largely the Scotch-Irish pioneers. During the summer of 1789 at the Cincinnati settlement services were held in the open air or at log cabins. The next year Rev. David Rice from Kentucky organized a church and later installed James Kemper of Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky as the first pastor.[2] A large number of the early settlers at Chillicothe on the Virginia military lands were adherents of the Presbyterian church. At the same time, the Scotch-Irish from western Pennsylvania and Virginia were crossing the Ohio into territory where this church was already established. In 1799 a separate presbytery, called Washington, was established. This included northern Kentucky and the churches north of the Ohio River.[3]

The first Methodist preacher in Ohio, George Callahan, came to the territory from his Virginia circuit in 1787. In the southwestern part of the state Francis Clark, a pioneer of Methodism from Danville, Kentucky, began the work. In 1795 James Smith from Virginia crossed into

[1] *Cf.* T. J. Summers, *History of Marietta*, pp. 198 *et seq.*

[2] *Cf.* W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, p. 204.

[3] *Cf.* Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky*, p. 128.

Ohio to continue his ministry.[1] In 1798 the presiding elder of the Kentucky circuit was directed to establish a regular Ohio circuit in the southwestern part of the state along the Miamis. During the next year this was done. A society was formed near Milford in Clermont county. Here developed a center of Methodism in southern Ohio. The circuit extended north to Hamilton and Dayton. The next year Methodism was introduced at Marietta and at Waterford in the valley of the Muskingum, by Rev. Robert Manly. In 1800 the Scioto Valley was visited by Rev. Henry Smith from Kentucky, and, during the next year, a society was organized at Chillicothe. It is interesting to observe how the itinerant preachers followed in the wake of the settlers as they pushed up the river valleys from the Ohio into the isolated interior. At the close of the century Methodist churches had been organized at Marietta, Steubenville, Zanesville, Athens, Chillicothe, West Union, and Cincinnati. Other societies rapidly followed until at the first conference on Ohio soil, held at Chillicothe in 1807, there were reported seventeen preachers and 3,883 members.[2]

The Baptists also were represented among the first settlers in southwestern Ohio, at Columbia near the site of Cincinnati. In 1797 the Miami Association was formed, consisting of four churches.[3]

The Moravians had come to Ohio as missionaries among the Indians long before the country was opened for permanent settlement. The Germans entered the territory in large numbers from Pennsylvania after settlement began and we find the German sects rapidly increasing.

[1] *Cf.* "Introduction of Methodism in Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, vol. x, pp. 180 *et seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. ii, p. 79.

[3] *Cf.* Newman, *The Baptist Churches in the United States*, pp. 338, 339.

The frontier owed much to the fearless and earnest circuit rider who plunged into the wilderness, and followed the settlers in order to preserve and elevate social and moral standards among a population in which many members were careless and indifferent, and some were extremely vicious and irreligious. As they passed from settlement to settlement on the outposts of civilization, these devoted men brought new knowledge to the people and took care that they should not forget their God.

The Kentucky Revival of 1800 and its Effects.—The revival in Kentucky occurred among a population, predominantly Scotch-Irish.[1] Selection had made prominent the motor type upon the frontier. The new environment exercised a powerful influence. Neither conventionality nor law exercised the usual control over conduct. The settler must be quick to respond to the needs of the moment and alert against the cruel savage or the beast of prey. He lived amid dangerous surroundings and fear was an ever present, disturbing factor in his mental life. He became careless of personal danger that he could measure, or of a foe that he could meet face to face on equal terms of combat.

Among such a people came the vigorous frontier preacher with his doctrines of a future life and a vividly pictured punishment for the wicked. The adversary, the Devil, could neither be seen, nor met in open combat. Strange phenomena appeared as a result of the preaching. The people were not so good that fervid exhortation could not arouse in them a feeling that perhaps a doom did await them, the more to be dreaded because they could not understand or see it.

They knew very well the dangers to which they were

[1] *Cf.* Frederick M. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, p. 60.

daily subjected,—perhaps they were plunging blindly ahead into something far worse. Amid the dangers and uncertainties of the frontier life the appeal to their emotions and faith was powerful. The phenomena of the revival only showed how close was the relation between economic and social conditions, and the religious life of a people.

The revival started in a region where the Presbyterians were most numerous. The settlers in Logan county had come mainly from Virginia and the Carolinas. Rev. James McGready, from North Carolina, became the pastor of three small societies in the county in 1796. He declared God as an avenger, and painted hell in lurid colors, exhorting men to escape the wrath to come.[1]

Logan county had been called "Rogues Harbor," because it had become a refuge for many of doubtful character who gathered there to escape the penalties of their wrongdoing. "Regulators" were sometimes necessary to keep order in the community. Even among the law-abiding there was much irreligion and vice.

The effect of McGready's preaching was tremendous. Men began to be anxious and to talk together about the welfare of their souls. Crowds gathered from far and near. During the summer of 1799 the two McGee brothers, one a Presbyterian, the other a Methodist, were on their way to Ohio to preach. They stopped at one of McGready's services, and at this meeting began the great revival movement.

Soon afterwards Elder Stone of Bourbon county came to observe, and carried the revival spirit back with him to the Cane Ridge country. From these centers the epidemic spread rapidly over northern Kentucky and southern Ohio. People came scores of miles in covered wagons and the

[1] *Cf.* Davenport, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 67.

crowd spent days in singing, praying and listening to the emotional exhortations. Thus the camp-meeting originated, a form of religious meeting henceforth to hold a very important place, especially in the Methodist churches. It was well adapted to the scattered frontier population and became a social as well as a religious agency. The religious fervor spread by contact and imitation, until the usual vocations of the people were neglected that they might attend these centers of emotional and muscular expression. The people were isolated for days in the wilderness after hearing the impassioned appeals of the preachers. Then they came together again in large crowds in a temper susceptible to great excitement.

The climax was reached in the great meeting at Cane Ridge at which 20,000 were said to have been present. Terrific enthusiasm, physical exhibitions, and ungoverned emotion ruled the gathering. They remained for days under the strain. Many were physically and mentally overwhelmed.[1] The superstitions of the people, common to the frontier, and their belief in signs and omens made these phenomena all the more significant to them and filled them with awe and terror.

Many of the preachers opposed the worst forms of excesses. They sought to elevate new standards of conduct and living out of the emotional awakening.[2]

The immediate effect of the revival upon the denominations, above described, is interesting. There was a great awakening among the Baptists of Kentucky and the mem-

[1] These excesses are familiar to most. For further account, *cf.* Davenport, *op. cit.*, chap. vi.

[2] *Cf.* L. W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity*, p. 237. "Neighborhoods noted for their vicious and profligate manners are now as much noted for their piety and good order . . . ," said Rev. David Rice in 1803.

bership was doubled.[1] The Methodist and Baptist churches at once came to the front as important forces in the communities.

Especially within the Presbyterian churches, but embracing the radicals from all, new sects arose as a result of the revival. The great body of the Presbyterian clergy would not sanction the excesses practiced in the meetings, and looked with disfavor upon the disregard of old church doctrines. Parties at once developed, known as revival and anti-revival.

The leaders of the revival idea formed the "New Lights," followed by the emotional religious devotees. Charges were made against the promoters of this movement by the parent church. These were followed in 1803 by the formation of a distinct presbytery to include the dissenters, and prompt expulsion from the old church. The suspended ministers attracted great crowds, pamphlets were published in defense and exposition of doctrines, and the excitement continued. Before the close of 1804 societies of "New Lights" had been organized, on completely democratic principles, at seven different places in southern Ohio.[2]

The five suspended ministers associated under the name of the presbytery of Springfield, Ohio. They issued a statement of doctrinal differences, denying the Presbyterian Confession of Faith in many particulars *i. e.* Divine Decrees and Atonement, and declaring that all creeds ought to be abolished. The Bible alone was to be their authority. They finally affirmed the full power of each congregation to act for itself in all matters. This policy was intensely democratic and corresponded to the idea of local self-govern-

[1] *Cf.* Newman, *Baptist Churches in the United States*, pp. 335, 336.

[2] Turtle Creek, Eagle Creek, Springfield, Orangedale, Salem, Beaver Creek, and Clear Creek. *Cf.* Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 195.

ment in civil life, already described as characteristic of the early Ohio settlers. The criticism of antiquated dogmas and the ridicule of current ideas of the Atonement won the admiration of many, and accorded with the natural love of independence and impatience of old restraints. The whole outlook of the frontier was forward not backward, and involved individual opportunity to say and do new things.[1]

The revival epidemic and emotionalism ran riot for a time in southern Ohio. The first large camp-meeting, held north of the Ohio, assembled at Eagle Creek in Adams county, June 5, 1801. It was participated in by both Methodists and Presbyterians and lasted four days. During the Spring of 1802, one of the leading preachers in the Kentucky revival, Richard McNemar, came to Warren county, and by fervent exhortation aroused great interest. The meetings were large, were often held in the open air, and caused the same kind of physical and emotional excesses that had appeared in the Kentucky gatherings. The lack of self-control, as described by Cartwright, an eye-witness, was remarkable. Visions, prophecies and revelations were the spiritual phenomena.[2] The movement affected most of the Presbyterian churches of southwestern Ohio.

As a result of the revival there was another division within the Presbyterian ranks. The members in southwestern Kentucky where the revival started organized the Cumberland presbytery. The interest was active and more preachers were soon needed. Contrary to the rules of discipline of the church it admitted and ordained even

[1] For the pamphlet of Rev. Stone on the Atonement, etc., *cf.* Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 204. Stone's followers were called "Stoneites" or "Christians." *Cf.* W. H. Venable, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[2] *Cf. History of Warren County*, Chicago, 1882, pp. 267 *et seq.*

ignorant and illiterate laymen. A Methodist preacher was also permitted to preach without requiring any change of doctrine. This was a very liberal and democratic adaptation of old rules to new needs.[1]

The radicals were at once investigated by a commission of the Synod of Kentucky. Against the members of this commission who came to the center of trouble to gather evidence, ridicule and violent prejudice were shown. The people accused the commission of wishing to cut off circuit riders because they did not know Latin and Greek. The new presbytery defended itself, asserting the fallibility of the Confession of Faith and its disbelief in parts of it. It further claimed the exclusive right to examine and license preachers, regardless of Synod.[2] Here again appear the ideas of self-government, working out through the church discipline.

The commission finally suspended the Methodist exhorter, with twenty-four others, and summoned certain of the leading ministers to trial for heresy. The matter was fought out in Synod and Assembly with the result that in 1810 an idependent church was formed by the dissenters, called the Cumberland Presbyterian. This sect adopted a brief and liberal constitution. Within three years it had organized a synod with sixty congregations.[3]

The developments just described are significant examples of the dynamic effect of the West upon religious ideas, as well as upon political principles. In fact the individualism, so characteristic of the early settlers on the frontier, worked itself out in new congenial societies of religious faith. Representatives of new creeds and *isms* went about the country proclaiming with freedom what they held to be true, and op-

[1] *Cf.* Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 228 *et seq.* [2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 236, 237.
[3] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 243–255.

posing what they considered false. Periodicals were established for the defense and propagation of various beliefs.

A significance attaches to these revivals of Kentucky and southern Ohio, however, broader than their religious interest. Professor Shaler estimates that perhaps one-half the people of Kentucky were, by the great religious revival, "brought under the influence of an enthusiasm that for a moment took them quite away from material things."[1] These impulsive, unreasoned, and purely emotional manifestations of religion cultivated dangerous habits of impulsive social action in reference to other matters entirely outside the sphere of religion. The people, who had allowed themselves to be governed so completely by their feelings, could scarcely fail to be affected in like manner under the strain of other exciting causes. They became accustomed to being swayed in large masses by impulse, instead of reason. Professor Davenport describes how Kentucky has always been subject to such action in politics and in the administration of justice, as well as in religion. Of the 156 lynchings in the state from 1882 to 1903, he finds the largest per cent in the counties where the revival fever was most serious. In Logan county, where the revival began, there occurred one-eleventh of the lynchings in the state for that period, whereas the county had only one-eightieth of the state's population.[2]

We cannot trace lynchings in Ohio to any such causes since the number for the same period was very small and not confined to any one section of the state, nevertheless we may justly attribute much irrational and impulsive social action in southern Ohio to the influence of religious enthusiasm upon habits of conduct and control.

[1] *Cf.* Venable, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

[2] *Cf.* Davenport, *op. cit.*, pp. 302, 303.

The campaign in Ohio to elect the members of the constitutional convention in 1802 was marked by much bitterness between the opposing factions. Mass meetings were held and fiery speeches were made on both sides, especially at Cincinnati where both parties were strongly represented.[1]

We have already recited in previous pages how mob violence against the person of the governor was narrowly averted during the last meeting of the territorial legislature at Chillicothe, the center of the pro-state party. This inpulsive action on the part of the Chillicotheans, led by a prominent member of the legislature, was excited by an act of the legislature removing the seat of government to Cincinnati, and by another act looking toward a division of the Territory at the Scioto river. The mob was soon suppressed but it illustrates how prone the people were to take matters into their own hands.

In the annals of Adams county, along the Ohio River, there is recorded an instance of mass action exemplifying emotional conduct of a different sort. The first notably large assemblage in the history of the county took place in 1808 at West Union, on the occasion of the execution of a famous criminal, David Beckett. The people came in wagons and on foot from the entire surrounding region and even from Kentucky. The multitude was estimated at 15,000. It had been reported that the famous frontier preacher, Lorenzo Dow, would try his powers on the doomed man to secure from him a confession of guilt. Backwoodsmen, boatmen, traders, professional men, women, and children surged about the place of execution. A rough platform had been erected. The pastor of the West Union Presbyterian church preached a sermon to the crowd from

[1] *Cf.* W. H. Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, vol. i, p. 239; vol. ii, pp. 588–590; also *cf.* Burnet, *Notes*, p. 347.

the platform. Dow followed with another address and finally the prisoner himself was influenced to make a confession and deliver an exhortation to the young people present, warning them to avoid the paths of vice.[1]

The violent prejudices, arising out of the abolition excitement along the Ohio during the thirties, expressed themselves in irrational and impulsive action. Cincinnati was the scene of more than one mob and the press constantly encouraged such conduct. How Birney's property was destroyed by violence and how free speech was suppressed by the pressure of mass action have been described. The factions within the city entered into a bitter struggle. The press was violent and explosive in its utterances because the people were capable of being stirred not so much by reason as by prejudice. Likewise in other parts of southern Ohio, which had become battle grounds for opposing forces, mob violence was not uncommon.

The traits of the camp-meeting were also shown in the political campaigns of this period. The campaign of 1840 was especially one of emotional politics. "The summer and fall of 1840 were spent in a gigantic and continuous frolic." Sound discussion took a secondary place. Harrison was ridiculed for his plain living, and the cry of "log cabin" and "hard cider" was taken up by the Whigs. The meetings in southern Ohio were immense. It is estimated that 100,000 were present at the convention of Whigs at Dayton. Great processions marked the opening of the meeting. In these each county delegation sought to outdo its rivals in display. Harrison spoke to 50,000 at Chillicothe and the meetings seemed to take the form of an emotional hero-worship of the people's idol. The meetings sometimes lasted for days, if speakers could be supplied to

[1] *Cf.* Evans and Stivers, *History of Adams County*, pp. 391 *et seq.*

entertain the crowds.[1] In this and other campaigns of this type personal preference or prejudice, rather than independent thought, evidently decided the issue.

Many other cases might be cited, but enough has been said to indicate the direction in which the habit of unreasoned, impulsive action by masses of people may lead. It is not claimed, by any means, that all such action in southern Ohio and Kentucky has been due to the influence of the religious frenzy shown in the revivals and the consequent weakening of individual self-control, but it is intended to point out that such influences as prevailed in the revivals do contribute to rash social conduct in many other lines not directly connected with religion.

Further Developments Within the State.—At the meetings in Kentucky many of the young preachers, who afterwards came to Ohio to work, received their enthusiasm. After the "New Light" separation, the orthodox Presbyterian church in Ohio gradually recovered its influence and spread rapidly through the State. In 1814 the Synod of Ohio was organized, consisting of three Presbyteries,—Washington, Lancaster, and Miami. In 1837 within the State were 304 ministers, 477 churches and about 34,000 communicants, in spite of the fact that the "New Light" sect had drawn somewhat from their membership.[2]

The strength of the Methodist Episcopal church in Ohio was almost double that of the Presbyterian. From the time of the revival it had come to the front as the leading denomination in the State.[3] This church made use of the circuit rider and the camp-meeting to reach widely scattered settlers or draw them to a central meeting place. The

[1] *Cf.* D. J. Ryan, *History of Ohio*, pp. 132–135.

[2] *Cf.* Caleb Atwater, *History of Ohio*, pp. 306, 307.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 307. Members, 77,036; traveling and local preachers, 854; churches, 490; circuits, 139.

camp-meeting became an established institution of Methodism and a very important socializing agency. The excesses characteristic of the Kentucky revival gatherings were largely eliminated. These meetings were genuine, if only temporary, congenial societies. Thus the Methodist church was best fitted in its organization to meet the needs of the pioneers.

The country church in early Ohio became a social center and the minister, passing on his circuit from one community to another, served as a general clearing house of information and a bond of relation between widely isolated groups.

In 1830 a significant division in the Methodist church of the country had taken place. During this year the Protestant sect separated from the parent church. For several years preceding there had been agitation on questions of government and doctrine. A party of reformers had been working within the church to bring about certain changes in organization. When the separation had been effected the Protestant division adopted a new constitution and decided that the General Conference should consist of an equal number of ministers and laymen elected by the annual conferences. The offices of bishop and presiding elder were abolished. The idea of episcopacy was thus abandoned and laymen were admitted to a part in the legislative and judicial departments of the church government.[1] In Ohio also we find this same division, reflecting in the church the democratic political ideas of the times.

There had also occurred a break in the ranks of the Baptists. As a natural development of the spirit that led to the "New Light" separation, and with much the same ideas, a new sect appeared, led by Alexander

[1] *Cf.* Nathan Bangs, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 434–436.

Campbell. This leader at one time belonged to the Presbyterian church in Virginia, but had renounced this denomination in 1812 and joined the Baptist Association of Redstone.[1] Campbell was captivated by the liberal, anti-sectarian views popular on the frontier at that time. He proposed to restore the spirit and letter of primitive Christianity. Challenging the whole theological field to debate, he issued printed material from his own press in great quantities.[2] In 1823 he openly raised the standard for a new sect, and published the "Christian Baptist" as a medium for the expression of his beliefs. The next year he writes, "We advocate New Testamentism."[3] In 1827 the orthodox Baptists disowned the new sect and as a result much agitation and a division occurred in that church. The followers of Campbell formed new societies and the sect rapidly spread over Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio. Within twenty years there were 150,000 members, and from that time on the church has continued to be a strong western denomination.[4] Creeds were discarded. The Bible alone was taken as the standard. Each congregation was organized to be independent of every other. No church officer had authority outside of the congregation that elected him. The denomination finally chose the name "Christians" and the "Stoneites" joined with them.[5] Here was another excellent example of independent self-government asserted in religion, and of the liberalizing of creeds under the influence of the democratic movement.

Campbell was a great debater, and in 1829 at Cincinnati he entered into prolonged discussion with the great social reformer, Robert Owen, who denied the truth of religion. For eight days they debated before a large gathering of

[1] *Cf.* Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 214, 215.
[2] *Cf.* Venable, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 209.
[4] *Cf.* Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
[5] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 216, 217.

people from many states.[1] Cincinnati had become the great center of discussion in the Ohio Valley and Campbell, on frequent occasions, took the platform in defense of his ideas against Catholics, Universalists, and Calvinists. These discussions were productive of good to the people, and showed how every man was allowed freedom of speech on religious matters.

At the close of the preceding century Unitarianism was to be found in Kentucky, but not until 1819 was it introduced into the great center of learning at Transylvania University. During this year Dr. Holley, a Yale graduate, became president of the school but the discussion of theology which followed ended in his resignation. Many champions of his beliefs appeared in Cincinnati where a Universalist periodical was started in 1829.[2]

It was not until 1832 that Dr. Lyman Beecher came to Cincinnati, as president of Lane Seminary. He represented the rationalism of the new school of New England theology and at once came into opposition to the old doctrines of Scotch Calvinism in the Presbyterian church. His orthodoxy was questioned but he was acquitted.[3] This liberal tendency in the system of doctrine was destined to result in the division within the Presbyterian ranks, known, after 1837, as Old and New School. The Old School was more conservative. It relied more on the support of the South, and was therefore more inclined to compromise with slavery and to oppose abolition.[4] This division was evident in southern Ohio.

In 1846 Cincinnati had over twenty-five different sects and divisions among her seventy-six churches. The Methodist churches far outnumbered all others and the Presbyterian

[1] *Cf.* Venable, *op. cit.*, pp. 221, 222. [2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 208, 209.
[3] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 218, 219.
[4] *Cf.* L. W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity*, pp. 294–297.

and Baptist denominations came next. The followers of Campbell, "Christians," were well represented, as we should anticipate from the account given of their origin and leader. The Germans, from both Pennsylvania and Europe, had settled in the city in large numbers. We, therefore, find eight German Lutheran and Reformed churches in Cincinnati. Eight Catholic churches represented the large Irish and German population. These facts show the great variety of religious belief entertained and tolerated in the metropolis of the Ohio Valley.[1]

Out of the "clash of creeds" and the action and reaction of divergent beliefs, much real truth was evolved. The intellects of men, put in the background at the time of the great revival, again asserted themselves in theological and social discussions. The churches increased their membership, and the leading sects published their own periodicals in defense of their ideas. Platform and debate were used to express the opinions of leaders. Currents of experience and beliefs met in the city, and from their interaction there evolved much to promote progress in western society.

A further examination of the county historical collections, above cited in the case of Cincinnati, shows that in each of the largest towns of the State in 1846 there were from five to fourteen different sects, with a decided predominance of Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and German churches.[2] The degree of religious toleration, born of the democratic ideas of Ohio pioneer society, is clearly indicated by these statistics.

[1] *Cf.* Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (1847), p. 218. Also *cf. Cincinnati Miscellany*, 1845, pp. 81, 82.

[2] Dayton ..... 15 churches ..... 12 different sects.
Columbus ..... 17 churches ..... 14 different sects.
Zanesville ..... 14 churches ..... 9 different sects.
Chillicothe ..... 13 churches ..... 11 different sects.
—*Cf.* Howe, *op. cit.*

In 1850 the United States Census presented very imperfect statistics relating to the number of church buildings belonging to the various denominations in each county. Nevertheless they serve as a guide in estimating the comparative strength and location of the various sects.

The Congregational church was shown to be confined practically to the counties in the northeastern part of the state and to Washington county where the New England settlers were most numerous.

The Dutch and German churches were most numerous in those southern and central counties where the Germans from Pennsylvania and Europe had largely settled.[1]

Most of the Quakers were found in the southern part of the State, as was indicated in a previous chapter. The "Christians" had ninety churches, mostly in southern Ohio.

Of course by far the most numerous were the churches of those denominations whose history we have followed somewhat in detail in the previous pages. The Methodists were far in advance of the others with 1,529 churches. The Presbyterians had 663 and the Baptists 551. A survey of these three denominations by counties reveals the fact that they were widely distributed. They flourished in practically every county of the State in 1850.

The number of Methodist churches in the different counties varied from one to fifty-two. The largest number had been organized in Muskingum in the southeastern part of the state. If we take the counties having twenty or more churches of this denomination, it appears that, of the thirty such counties, all except seven were located in the southern

[1] The German Reformed had 71 churches; the Lutherans 260; and the Moravians 160. The combined strength of these was almost as great as that of the Baptists. These churches were found chiefly in Carroll, Columbiana, Coshocton, Crawford, Fairfield, Hamilton, Holmes, Mahoning, Montgomery, Perry, Pickaway, Pike, Preble, Richland, Muskingum, Seneca, Stark, Tuscarawas, and Wayne counties.

part of the state, and that these seven were situated in the eastern-central portion in the path of the westward-moving population from Pennsylvania and Virginia. All except one of the nine counties with the largest number were located in the southern part of the state.

Of the twenty-seven counties having ten or more Presbyterian churches each, fifteen were located in the southern part of the state and most of the others in the east-central portion. Of the counties returning the greatest number of Baptist churches only about one-half were situated in the southern part of the state.[1]

Not only did the multiplication of churches of different sects in the little frontier towns have important social consequences for the particular community, but the diffusion of the three large denominations throughout all the counties served to make the state more of a unit. People gathered from the entire area at large church assemblies and thus became better acquainted with each other and with the different parts of the state. The interests of religion gave a point of intellectual contact and formed a common basis for larger than merely local groups.

It now more clearly appears why there occurred that change in the attitude of the large religious denominations toward slavery, which was discussed in a previous chapter. The large membership, in both North and South, led to a policy of compromise and suppression of agitation, just as a similar cause produced similar results in the old political parties. Southern Ohio, where these churches were most numerous and where opinions and sympathies were most divided, was naturally the scene of that conflict within the denominations which finally resulted in divisions, North and South, on the slavery question.

[1] *Cf. Statistics of the United States—Census 1850*, table xiv, for the basis of the above statements.

CHAPTER VI

Early Social Life and Education in Ohio

Frontier Social and Anti-Social Conduct as Shown in Ohio.—In the early population the social bonds were the approbation of the community and a common purpose to subdue the new environment. Common dangers from which all must be protected and common needs drew the people together. Since men came from widely separated places, there was necessarily much toleration of different customs and beliefs, but when someone, more daring than the rest, passed the limit he was disposed of by exclusion. Summary methods of justice were often employed in preference to the more orderly process of law.

Many neighborhoods became a refuge for criminals and outcasts from the older society. There was much rowdyism and fighting along the Ohio. The life of the boatmen was rough and dangerous and hard conditions produced a reckless and dissipated class of men.[1] It is not surprising, therefore, to find at a very early date the organization of the "Regulators" to keep order in some Kentucky communities. This same method was employed more commonly in Indiana than in Ohio but was not uncommon in the latter state. When the usual legal means were not deemed sufficient, the settlers were accustomed to rely on their powers to deal with the offenders directly. They formed themselves into a company "whose duty it was to

[1] *Cf.* A. B. Hulbert, *The Ohio River*, chap. x.

purge the community of its unruly members." [1] As early as 1782 the Virginia legislature had declared that circumstances may arise justifying extra-legal measures on account of the danger to the peace of society.[2] This expresses very well the view of the self-confident frontier society and was resorted to at various times in the early history of Ohio.[3]

An Adams county pioneer, Rev. J. B. Finley, declared, "No man was permitted to insult another without resentment; and if an insult was permitted to pass unavenged, the insulted party lost standing in society." [4] Such a code of personal honor did not promote self-control and public opinion in many communities opposed it. Confidence in ability to take care of one's own interests and reputation was characteristic of the frontier. Even the camp-meetings were not free from personal encounters, and public gatherings often ended by settling differences in combat, especially when political enthusiasm ran high.[5] The early militia musters gave opportunity for the exhibition of personal prowess. The taverns along the stage routes, where all sorts of people met, were scenes of many disturbances.

This contentious spirit was well illustrated at a Fourth

[1] *Cf.* J. E. Cutler, *Lynch Law* (1905), pp. 78–81.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 89.

[3] *Cf.* D. M. Massie, *Life of Nathaniel Massie*, p. 57. This account gives the method of executing justice at Manchester, Ohio. *Cf.* B. S. Youngs, *Transactions of the Ohio Mob-Expedition against Shakers*. This occurred in Warren county, near Lebanon, in 1810, as a demonstration of feeling against the methods of the communal group known as "Shakers," a sect that resulted from the Kentucky revival. We have already cited several examples of mob rule in the abolition excitement in Cincinnati as well as in resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law.

[4] Evans and Stivers, *History of Adams County*, p. 57.

[5] *Cf.* C. A. Hanna, *Historical Collections of Harrison County*, p. 65, for specific instances.

of July celebration in Lancaster, Fairfield county. The town was located on Zane's road, the chief early highway between Pennsylvania and Kentucky. When the celebration was at its height a stranger on his way to settle at Chillicothe appeared. Attempts to persuade him to stop at Lancaster were made. He, however, boasted of the superior merits of Chillicothe. A challenge to settle the matter by combat followed, and a man was selected from the Lancaster group to fight. A ring was formed, the fight was waged, and the stranger lost.[1]

Along the Ohio River the Yankee appeared in marked contrast to the Southerner. The former was more orderly and law-abiding, keen in business, devoted to the accustomed ways of thinking and doing things so far as these were compatible with his new surroundings. The settlers from Pennsylvania and the South were more independent, combative in temper, generous in spirit and democratic in point of view.

The great majority of the early settlers came into the Northwest Territory to find a better chance, to form a commonwealth based upon a large degree of equality and freedom, and to develop industries which should prove profitable to all. The land was fertile and the one sure way to prosperity was to promote and practice the virtues of industy and thrift. In such an environment these characteristics became strongly marked and were highly esteemed by society. Men, for the most part, were on about the same

[1] *Cf. Stimson Collection*, Marietta Library, vol. ii, pp. 46–52. Also *cf.* T. Ashe, *Account of Travels in America in 1806* (1811), letter xxi, pp. 191 *et seq.* This writer gives a description of Lexington, Kentucky, in 1806, in detail. On certain days the town gave itself up to practices that, in his opinion, would identify the people with untutored savages. He describes the drinking, gambling, and fighting which often interrupted the regular business of the town.

economic level, there were no distinct class divisions, and, in the absence of any considerable amount of capital, there soon developed much local coöperation. The settlers aided each other at the house-raising, the planting, and the harvesting.

Certain individualistic tendencies have already been pointed out, which were often opposed to the interests of the group. Many were reluctant to give up the cherished right to be their own jury and to inflict their own penalties. Many vices developed under conditions that allowed a large degree of freedom to the individual.

An examination of the statutes of the first quarter-century of Ohio's history shows that such conditions as have been suggested did exist, and to a degree which merited the attention of territorial and state legislatures. It becomes evident also that the majority, realizing the real and possible effects of recklessness, idleness, and intemperance, was demanding from its representatives some action to promote the real interests of the community and the state by legal means instead of by extra-legal action. A great variety of offenses accordingly were defined and penalties were affixed by statute.

Under the régime of the territorial government, when the governor and judges constituted the legislature, a law was adopted from the Virginia code in 1795, to suppress gambling. The law embraced all sorts of gambling, by cards, dice, etc., and betting at cock-fights, horse-races and other sports. Heavy fines were imposed and licenses were taken away from tavern keepers who violated the statute.[1]

In 1798 a law was adopted from the Kentucky code intended to control men of wild habits who engaged in continual fighting. The law prohibited maiming by cutting

[1] *Cf. Laws of Northwest Territory, Maxwell's Code* (1796), pp. 206 *et seq.*

out the tongue, or putting out the eye, or biting the nose or ear of the opponent. The penalty was one to six months in prison and a fine of $50 to $1,000. In want of means of payment the offender might be sold to service by the court for a period not exceeding five years.[1] In these laws is evident the purpose of the governor and judges to control the personal conduct of men so far at least as it tended to become injurious to the peace and prosperity of the community as a whole. How well they succeeded may not be ascertained with any accuracy, but such attempts to control are significant of frontier conditions. It is noteworthy also that, whereas most of the laws of the territory were adopted from Pennsylvania, those cited above in regard to personal conduct were adopted from southern frontier states which had had more experience of the need of such regulation.

Under statehood the commonwealth continued to enact similar laws. In 1805 the legislature passed a severe law against duelling, with a penalty of $2000 fine attached, as well as sureties for good behavior. The penalty also included exclusion from holding office or exercising the franchise in the future. If the fine was not paid the offender must serve ten years in prison.[2]

In 1814 severe laws were again enacted against gambling at horse-races and cock-fights. Importers of playing cards were punished and playing at taverns and public places was forbidden.[3] In the southern part of the State sporting centers had early developed in the towns, especially at Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Lancaster. Racing was a sport especially promoted by the southern settlers and a law had

[1] *Cf. Laws of Northwest Territory*, 1798, published at Cincinnati. pp. 7, 8.

[2] *Cf.* S. P. Chase, *Statutes of Ohio* (1833), vol. i, p. 441.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 823–825.

been early adopted from the Kentucky code to improve the breed of horses.[1] The Hamilton Common attracted the people for miles to witness the sports and engage in social enjoyments.

Even as late as 1821, the law against maiming the person of an opponent was reënacted, essentially as before quoted, but with a much severer penalty, namely, three to twenty years at hard labor.[2] In 1825 a law was passed prohibiting bull-baiting and cock-fighting, on the ground that these public sports collected idle spectators, produced drunkenness, rioting and vicious habits and tended to corrupt public morals.[3] This last law cited is especially interesting because it gives definite statement to the grounds upon which such restraining laws were based. Social pressure in the community was brought to bear upon those who would not conform to the habits of thrift, self-control, and obedience to rules of conduct, which seemed necessary for the prosperity of the community. This pressure was finally expressed in the form of legal restrictions.

The beginnings and growth of temperance sentiment in the State acquire interest from this point of view. At this early period the use of liquor was very common both at home and at public gatherings. A celebration was never complete without the good cheer represented in the flowing bowl. The tavern promoted excessive drinking. Men were rendered worthless and a menace to the community by prolonged self-indulgence. Intoxication became responsible for much of the social disorder of the time.

The communities manufactured their own liquor supply.

[1] *Cf. Laws of Northwest Territory*, 1798, pp. 12–14.

[2] *Cf.* Chase, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1202.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 1460.

The southern part of the state, especially around Cincinnati and in the southwestern part along the River, produced large quantities for export by boat to southern markets. By this means the bulk of the grain was reduced and the product became more valuable, as long as transportation remained difficult and expensive. This southern trade stimulated the industry more and more. The evils of intemperance, therefore, became more apparent in that part of the State, as was shown in the experience of Chillicothe which was compelled at one time to adopt heroic measures to limit the use of intoxicants.

As early as 1799 the territorial legislature, recognizing that excessive drinking tended to produce paupers, authorized the appointment of guardians for persons who were wasting their estates by excessive use of liquor, gambling, and idleness.[1] The legislature was anxious that such men should not become public charges upon the community and wished to check idleness and to promote industry.

The frontier churches began at an early date to oppose intemperance and personal vices, on moral grounds. The preachers and circuit riders had an important part in forming the ideals of the people in these matters. The West offered to each man an opportunity, but the opportunity could never be realized if the person rendered himself inefficient by intemperate habits. Communities became prosperous in the rich environment, but this prosperity was hindered by the persons who were unable to contribute their share because they had become physically and morally unfit. Such were the religious, moral, and practical views which gradually developed on the problem of intemperance.

When the American Temperance Society was organized,

[1] *Cf.* Burnet, *Notes*, p. 314.

Ohio soon joined the movement. In 1829 the State had thirty branch societies.[1] In 1846 a large convention, presided over by the governor, met at Columbus. Resolutions were passed condemning the waste of food in the distillation of liquors, and demanding that the people be allowed to vote on the local existence of the traffic.[2]

When the convention to revise the Ohio constitution met in 1850 many interesting matters were discussed, but not the least interesting was the expression of opinion from all parts of the state by petitions, asking the convention to authorize or require the legislature specially to prohibit the traffic in liquors, or restrict it by refusing to legalize the sale. A careful tabulation of these petitions, as they are recorded in the debates of the convention, shows that more than 300, from over 75 per cent of the counties of the State, were received during the session of the convention. Each petition was signed by from one to 1400 persons. Still more significantly, the counties which sent the largest number of petitions, more than seven each, were without exception in the southern part of the State, where the traffic and its evils were most apparent.[3]

The genuineness of the public opinion expressed in these petitions was shown by the report of the committee on retailing ardent spirits. This was a subject which might

[1] *Cf.* Dawson Burns, *Temperance History*, vol. i, pp. 29, 30. Also *Cf. Fourth Annual Report of American Temperance Society* (1831), p. 28.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, vol. i, p. 279.

[3] Petitions: Muskingum county, 19; Guernsey county, 15; Belmont county, 15; Morgan county, 13; Warren county, 13; Hamilton county, 11; Brown county, 10; Licking county, 9; Ross county, 9; Clermont county, 9; Preble county, 8; Lawrence county, 8.

well have been left to the discretion of the legislature, but the committee of the convention, appointed to consider the question, recommended that, "No license to traffic in intoxicating liquors shall hereafter be granted in this state, but the General Assembly may by law provide against the evils resulting therefrom." The convention adopted the report by a vote of forty-five yeas to thirty-nine nays.[1] The section as recommended was made a part of Ohio's second constitution.[2]

In spite of the anti-social elements and personal vices, there was forming in Ohio a strong and healthy community life. The struggle with the environment was producing a conscientious, industrious and thoughtful type. Where individualistic tendencies or unsocial conduct became radically opposed to the interests of all, social pressure was exerted to correct the conditions.

Education a Factor in the State's Progress.—It is not our purpose to give a history of education in the State, but only to show the nature of the early ideas on education and how they worked out in practice. Education did not become really a matter of state concern, nor was a system of popular instruction, supported by public taxation, established for a quarter of a century after statehood was attained. Necessarily, the isolation of the scattered settlements long rendered instruction a local and individual matter.

Jefferson's trust in the common people was based on the great confidence he placed in common enlightenment. As early as 1780, the legislature of Virginia passed an act vesting certain escheated lands in Kentucky in trustees, for a

[1] *Cf. Debates*, vol. ii, pp. 694, 695, for vote.

[2] *Cf. Ohio Constitution, 1851*, art. xv, sec. 9.

public school.[1] Five years later the school opened near Danville at the private house of a Presbyterian minister from Virginia, Rev. David Rice, who organized the first church in Cincinnati a few years later. The preacher often served as the teacher in the schools and thus sought to elevate the intellectual as well as the moral standard of the community. Rice's school continued for nine years under his care, and in the meantime moved to Lexington where it finally became Transylvania University, the first college in the Ohio Valley. The Kentucky legislature provided for twenty-six academies in the various counties of the state and endowed each of them with 6000 acres of land. These were to be the feeders of the great central university. The presidents of Transylvania, during the first half century, were selected from the frontier religious denominations, before described.[2]

The first college in the Northwest was established at Athens in 1804. This institution was endowed with lands granted to the Ohio Company by the national government. The New England settlers, under the leadership of Mr. Cutler, had conceived the idea of making this college the great center of learning in the Territory, as Harvard was in the East. But ideals such as this do not prevail in the face of opposing economic and social conditions, and Athens today is only one of the many small colleges of the State. The parts of the Territory were not yet united by such common interests as would make such a project possible. A single commanding institution of learning was not in accord with those local, individualistic ideas of education which led to diffusion rather than to centralization.

[1] *Cf.* Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in Ohio Valley*, pp. 162 and 164 for text of act.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 162–170.

A like grant had been made by the government to Symmes for the endowment of a college in the southwestern part of the State. This institution, called Miami University, was chartered five years later than that at Athens and was located at Oxford in Butler county. The first president of the college was Robert H. Bishop, a Presbyterian minister and formerly professor in Transylvania [1] an institution from which Ohio drew many other teachers.

Ohio soon became noted for academies and small colleges. Partly because of the isolation and difficult communication of the early days, and partly because of the traditions and experience of the settlers, many academies grew up, as the antecedents of the colleges. Some of these institutions still retain their preparatory departments. The purpose of these academies was to afford an opportunity to the ambitious to fit themselves for leadership and so to spread the desire for learning until secondary and primary schools could be started in every settlement and the system be made really democratic. At least eight colleges were established within the first thirty-five years of Ohio's history and many more academies. Today the colleges number at least thirty and in many cases the religious denominations still exercise much control over particular institutions. The very multiplicity of sects increased the number of colleges and academies.

It is clear that whatever higher education was provided in Ohio during the first years of its history, above the most elementary training given in the home or private school, was largely controlled by religious sects, or by public-spirited men who established private academies. Of course such education was a matter of local concern and there could be no uniformity in the instruction. Whatever unity was

[1] *Cf.* Venable, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

found came as a result of sectarian education when an institution appealed to its own denomination over a wider area.

Free common-school education, as now understood, was impossible in the pioneer stage. Even today the rural districts are far behind the towns in efficiency. During the first half-century of Ohio's history the only efficient schools were those in the more densely populated communities. This is shown by the progress in improving the city school system made by Cincinnati. The poverty of the settlers, and especially the traditions of the southern interior from which so many came, discouraged extensive expenditure for schools. The taxation of all for the education of those who could avail themselves of the advantages was at first out of the question. The child who desired an education and was willing to struggle hard could get it, but not without an effort akin to that which mastered the physical environment. Most of the education was necessarily of that severely practical nature that made the individual efficient to cope with his environment. Home training was more important than knowledge of books.

Elementary schools were opened, however, in the New England settlements the year following the first arrivals. The directors of the Ohio Company appropriated money for the instruction of the children of Marietta, Belpre, and Waterford. In these communities education became a matter of common interest as it had been in New England.

This attitude was not common to other parts of the State. The first common school opened at Cincinnati was on the subscription plan, and was organized by John Reily who came direct from Lexington, Kentucky.[1] Private schools

[1] *Cf.* Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, pp. 184 *et seq.*

were advertised in the Cincinnati paper and instruction was given in blockhouse, church, or cabin. It was usual in starting a school for the applicant to draw up an agreement stating what branches he was able to teach and what compensation he expected. The paper was then circulated for signatures and subscriptions to be paid in money or in produce. The tuition of poor children was sometimes paid by public-spirited men of larger means. Periods of instruction were very short, books were scarce, and there was little system.

The efforts of Congress to promote free common schools in Ohio by the donation of a large amount of land, ($\frac{1}{36}$ part), for the support of the system, at the time when the Territory was opened, were rendered almost futile by the conditions of the sparsely settled frontier and the attitude of the settlers. This grant was made largely through the influence of some of the New England settlers and later it formed the foundation for a thoroughly democratic system of free instruction. But as yet the people were not ready to put in operation such a plan.

The legislature grossly misused its power as trustee of these lands, allowing them to be mismanaged and exploited for private ends. Nearly one-third of the acts of the legislature from 1802 to 1835 pertained to the disposal of these lands, and the end was confusion as well as irreparable public loss.[1] A case is recorded by Atwater where a state senator secured for himself and family seven entire sections.[2] Before 1825 these lands became a burden instead of a source of income to the State, as they should have been if properly administered.

[1] *Cf.* S. P. Orth, "Administration in Ohio," *Columbia University Studies*, vol. xvi, no. 3, p. 30.

[2] *Cf. History of Ohio*, p. 253.

It was not until 1819 that the attitude of the legislators and their constituents began to change. During this year Mr. Cutler of Marietta began the agitation for a better school system. In 1821 the House appointed a committee on schools and school funds, of which Atwater was chairman. The report of this committee resulted in the appointment by the governor of seven commissioners, one from each of the land districts of the State, to collect material, to report to the next assembly a system of education for common schools, and to consider the best means of administering the fund set apart by Congress for this purpose. Atwater was again chairman and prepared a report which was printed and circulated over the State in 1823. In the fall of this same year, the legislature considered the report and quarreled over the matter during the entire session. A majority in each house still opposed a system of public schools supported by taxation, and objected to the sale of the school lands. Individual and local interests were more apparent than the common need of public instruction.

In the elections of 1824, both school legislation and internal improvements were political issues, and were warmly discussed. As a result large majorities favoring these measures were elected to both houses. On January 28, 1825 the House passed the canal bill, fifty-eight to thirteen; and later, on February 1, it passed a common school bill, forty-six to twenty-four.[1] These votes show that there was more opposition to the school bill than to the construction of canals. This probably means that economic interest was much more apparent in one measure than in the other. That no real public opinion had yet been aroused in support of public education was shown by the fact that for years the new school law had very little effect in increasing the

[1] *Cf. House Journal*, pp. 318 and 332 for votes.

local efficiency of the schools. The twenty-four negative votes on the school law came from outside the New England settlements, from the sections of the state where traditions would naturally be most opposed to the system.

The bill granted, as we should expect, practically complete local autonomy in school matters, so that the development of a system was a slow process. Unified organization has scarcely yet been achieved. The permission to the locality to levy taxes for the support of public instruction enabled the communities to go forward as fast as public sentiment approved. Ten years later, in 1836, the governor said in his message; "Our system of education is languishing in proportion to our other improvements." At this time no standard of education had yet been established because every locality managed its own affairs and laws passed by the legislature were allowed to go unenforced. The better schools of the State were not free. It was the common practice to continue the instruction free, as long as the state money, distributed according to the valuation of the district not the number of pupils, lasted. Then the school was continued by charging a tuition for further instruction. This plan left the poor children to get on as best they could. The average length of the school session was less than twenty weeks. The local taxing power was rarely used, and the funds derived from the school lands and the State proved wholly inadequate.

The public schools were so poorly managed that private schools continued to hold an important place, and, in many places, multiplied even more rapidly than the public schools. The first superintendent of schools reported in 1837 a little less than one-half as many private as public schools in the entire state.[1] If we compute, from this report, the ratio of

[1] *Cf. Report of Superintendent of Schools* (1837), gives by counties the number of each.

the private schools to the whole number of schools in each county, we find the largest proportion of private schools outside of the areas occupied by the New England population, and especially large in the southern part of the State and in the sparsely settled western counties. There was also a tendency for the proportion of private schools to decrease in the more densely populated counties, because in these centers wealth was increasing, the people were more progressive, and the common schools became more efficient.

The superintendent had asked the legislature that he be given a centralized control over the entire system, but this was not granted because the law-makers were always reluctant to place much power in one man's hands. The independent office of superintendent lasted for three years only. At the end of this period the demand was successfully made that the duties of this officer be transferred to the secretary of state. Before the office was abolished, however, it had proved its usefulness. The number of schools had been greatly increased and the enrollment had doubled. A state school tax was provided and teachers' institutes were established. Public interest had begun to be aroused, but, after the abolition of the office, both interest and efficiency again rapidly declined.

In his report in 1844, the secretary of state declared, "No other interest of the State has been so fearfully neglected . . . The principal obstacles are the inefficiency of township and district superintendence, the incompetency of teachers, and the absence of action, sympathy and interest on the part of the parents."[1] Here are pointed out the real difficulties and the reason for failure to make public instruction a success.

To sum up the progress of the half-century, it appears

[1] *Report of the Secretary of State* (1844), p. 5.

that at first schools were matters of local concern entirely and largely private; that there was no state control by a superintendent until 1837, and then for only three years; that the school lands, through gross mismanagement, were entirely inadequate for the purpose intended; that there was no state tax for education until 1839, and no regular system of local taxation at all during that period. During no year were the public schools in session, on an average, more than twenty-two weeks. Usually they were not open so long as that.[1]

Although efforts were made to promote a general system of education by grants of land from the government in each locality, such a plan proved futile in the face of frontier conditions. The State was actively promoting its material prosperity by creating a system of internal waterways and roads, and it left the training of its youth to the localities, each community being left free to choose the method and extent of training according to its own ideas and traditions. The results of isolation and local policy persisted longer in education than in other spheres of activity. Ideals of a unified and well-directed free common-school system for all had to be developed gradually in the minds of the pioneers of Ohio. That a man should be taxed to support an institution of which he made no use, for a long time, seemed out of harmony with frontier ideas. That there was any need of uniformity in the system of education was not perceived by a people not yet deeply conscious of united interests in a great commonwealth. The utility of a system of instruction, provided with adequate funds to bring its advantages to rich and poor alike, did not appear so evident as the utility of improved means of trans-

[1] *Cf.* Orth, *op. cit.*, p. 74. Here is given a table of statistics upon which the above conclusions are based.

portation and the development of industry, which would give to every man the chance to earn a good living if he was willing to work for it.

There were other means of education to supplement and even to take the place of formal instruction. The people's debating societies were organized, of which both old and young became members. Henry Clay was active in such a society soon after coming from Virginia. Thomas Ewing and Thomas Corwin, two of Ohio's most gifted statesmen, became members of debating societies, the former at Athens where he was attending college, the latter at Lebanon. These associations allowed the expression of individuality, and developed the ability for independent thought and the power to form correct opinions. Self-control was strengthened as men learned to give due respect to the opinions of others. Leadership was given a chance to prove itself.

Public debates were common on matters of religion and politics. Men acquired the habit of attending these gatherings and thus the platform became a means of popular instruction. Information was disseminated, and practical intelligence was increased, stimulated by social action and reaction. Ideas were interchanged at camp-meetings, celebrations, debates, and court sessions. The courts especially were influential in informing people as to the rights and duties of citizenship. The Ohio Valley naturally became the arena of party politics and the struggle over slavery. Social life and institutions were in a plastic condition in Ohio at this period.

Some centers in the state were far ahead of others in both material and intellectual advancement. None had developed so rapidly as Cincinnati. We have already indicated the extensive commercial and industrial interests of this metropolis of the Ohio Valley. The heterogeneous population from southern, central, and northern states, as well as from

Europe; the various environments from which they came; the ideals and traditions brought along, and the experiences of lives mingled in this center of trade and culture, altogether contributed to make it a most interesting society. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe said of the city in 1834, "With an eclectic society drawn from the finest and best cultivated classes of the older states, there was in the general tone of life a breadth of ideas, a liberality and freedom, which came from the consorting together of persons of different habits of living." [1]

In this city education, politics, religion, and literary activity of all kinds registered their earliest and highest development in the State; here gathered the potent forces of change in the new western society, and here progress was recorded.

Concentration of population and increasing interest in education, caused Cincinnati in 1829 to pass laws giving an independent organization to the city schools and granting power to levy special taxes for the purpose. Ten new buildings were provided for and a board of education was appointed by the city council.

The western teachers in 1831 organized at Cincinnati an association, called the "Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers." The purpose was to promote more efficient private and public education. It was loyally encouraged by pulpit, platform and press. Meetings occurred annually for ten years, with delegates from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Tennessee, Virginia and a half-dozen other southern states. The best scholars of the time addressed these gatherings where talent and zeal came together, and where local prejudices were forgotten in the enthusiasm for a common pur-

[1] *Cf.* Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture*, p. 420.

pose. The association was effective in securing the office of state superintendent of schools in Ohio, and was directly influential in promoting rapid progress in the city schools of Cincinnati.[1]

The first newspaper in the State was published in Cincinnati by William Maxwell in 1793. It was called, "The Centinel of the Northwest Territory." Its motto was, "open to all parties but influenced by none." Other publications followed rapidly both in Cincinnati and in other towns, until Atwater estimated, in 1838, that there were at least 100 weekly papers at that time besides many other periodicals.[2] These papers, for the most part, printed only local and foreign news. Therefore it was long before the newspaper acted as a strong influence to promote unity by informing all parts of the State as to what the other parts were doing and thinking.

From the first there were periodicals devoted to party interests or the propagation of certain beliefs. These publications tended to spread over as wide an area as the interests which they represented. In this field also Cincinnati led the other sections of the State. Among the city's population more interests were represented, more ideas sought expression, and more beliefs required defense. Theological, political and social opinions waxed warm. Faiths were defended by zealous advocates, parties were supported by the press, the status of foreigners was discussed, and the struggle against abolition grew violent.

Judge James Hall, who published the "Western Monthly Magazine" at Cincinnati, stated in 1835 that the articles of the last volume had been written by thirty-seven different persons known to the editor, besides others whose identity

[1] *Cf.* Atwater, *History of Ohio*, pp. 291 *et seq.*

[2] *History of Ohio*, pp. 320, 321.

was not revealed. Of these thirty-seven persons, nineteen resided outside the State, in West, South, and East. The city had become a center for the expression of the opinions of men.[1]

The "Cincinnati Miscellany" for 1845, (pp. 107-108), recorded twelve daily newspapers, (nine in English and three in German). Of these, four were Democratic and four were Whig. There were also fourteen independent weeklies, besides weekly editions issued by several of the dailies. In addition, thirteen monthlies were devoted to literary, religious, political, educational, and scientific subjects. It is evident that in such a community freedom of expression was the rule and public opinion was being shaped by powerful forces.

Although Ohio was backward during the first half-century in establishing a free school system supported by taxation and administered for the benefit of all, forces were at work to disseminate knowledge and to lay the foundation for a more democratic system. Individuality could not be made to fit a common mould but each locality was developing to the point where it could see that there were a great many interests in which the communities of the State were much alike and upon which, as upon internal improvements, common action would result in greater efficiency and progress.

This freedom, typical of the West, may be strongly contrasted with that of the East by reference to a letter of Dr. William E. Channing, published in the "Messenger" at Cincinnati in 1836. Of Boston he says, "Among all its virtues it does not abound in a tolerant spirit. The yoke of opinion is a heavy one, often crushing individuality of judgment and action . . . Opinion is less individual, or

[1] *Cf.* Venable, *op. cit.*, pp. 376, 377.

runs more in masses, and often rules with a rod of iron." Channing speaks further in praise of the West, "I desire," he says, "to see a new form of society. I hear of the defects of the West; but I learn that a man there feels himself to be a man and that he has a self-respect, which is not always found in older communities; that he speaks his mind freely . . . ." In reply to an invitation to come to Cincinnati to preach, Dr. Channing says, "I should do it cheerfully if I could . . . . I fear the habits, rules, and criticisms under which I have grown up have not left me the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the western people . . . I have labored to be a free man but, in the state of the ministry and society here, freedom is a hard acquisition." [1]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The details of the first chapter were presented because environment and the material development of a new state shape progress along political, religious, educational, and social lines. This intimate connection has been emphasized throughout the succeeding chapters.

Chapter II.—Not only the environment to which the settlers came, but also the stamp which their previous material and social surroundings had put upon them was of the greatest importance. The sources of Ohio's population were discussed with the object of determining what sort of people came to mingle in the new commonwealth. The back-country regions of the older states had attracted and developed a strong, aggressive, individualistic, and democratic type. Many had come to these regions with a bitter experience of religious and political oppression either in Europe or in the American colonies.

[1] Venable, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 76.

Settlers from all the older frontier came to mingle in southern Ohio, when the borders were extended at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their new environment emphasized the same qualities as the old; the virtues of industry and thrift were intensified; men of action and individual initiative were attracted; great soldiers, statesmen, and captains of industry were developed. Restless nervous energy worked itself out in invention and a masterful grasp of material things. The individual had a chance to prove himself.

Chapter III.—Democracy and the spirit of individual freedom were shown in the opposition to the aristocratic control of the territorial government, and in the demand for statehood. The constitution of the new state incorporated the principles of manhood suffrage and popular control through the legislature, unrestricted by any veto-power. The strong original tendency of the settlers toward local self-government was intensified by the isolation of the communities and the arbitrary conduct of the territorial governor. The first constitution extended the principle of popular election to local officers and made self-government a reality.

Some serious abuses resulted from the grant of unlimited power to the legislature. The efficiency of the courts was impaired, the school funds were wasted, personal legislation was encouraged, and the State finances were misused in public works. The idea of local independence was applied to the whole State in the struggle against the power of the national government in the bank and slavery controversies.

All these democratic tendencies and principles were natural to a people many of whom had been the loyal followers of Jefferson before coming to the State, and most of whom were influenced by the desire for individual opportunity and equality in their efforts to realize their hopes.

Chapter IV.—Different opinions upon the question of slavery were to be expected among a people gathered from New England, the border states, and the South itself. A majority was in favor of excluding slavery from Ohio soil but looked with indifference upon the institution as such. In fact southern Ohio soon became aware that it was a good business proposition to retain slave labor in the South. The coming of free negroes was discouraged by harsh laws, because such immigrants were economically inferior and were held in contempt.

Agitation against slavery through the churches, societies, and the press was begun early in Ohio. It was carried on largely by men who came from the border states or the South itself. This agitation aroused no strong opposition before 1830. After this date the South showed greater intolerance, and agitation threatened the friendly and profitable relations between the two sections. Pressure was at once exerted in southern Ohio to suppress abolition. In spite of mob violence and persecution, the anti-slavery forces increased. The underground system was aiding escaping slaves and the angry slave-holders were insisting on more stringent laws. Ohio responded with a severe fugitive-slave law, and condemned by legislative resolution the conduct of abolitionists.

Increased pressure from the South secured a national fugitive act which made Ohio more than ever a hunting ground for slaves, and, in many cases, invaded the cherished rights of citizens. State clashed with national authority and pride asserted itself. The outside pressure from the South itself unified factions within the State and gathered the forces opposing slavery into the new Republican Party.

Chapters V and VI.—Along with the back-country population from Pennsylvania and the South, the three great frontier religious denominations were introduced into south-

ern Ohio. Their organization and beliefs were adapted to the economic and social conditions of the early settlers. After the Kentucky revival many new sects, organized on more democratic principles, appeared. The parent churches themselves underwent changes. Independence of thought and expression in matters of religion was maintained from the first. Each little town soon came to have several different sects. Men learned at least to tolerate differences of beliefs and to work together for certain common ends.

The conduct of individuals in western society showed the freedom from conventions and restraints of the older states. The initiative, energy and self-reliance were all important qualities on the frontier. It was inevitable that, in some persons, these and other characteristics should develop to a point which endangered the interests of all. Social pressure was therefore exerted in order to promote the peace, order, and prosperity of the whole community.

The evolution of a system of education in the State was slow. The price of learning was persistent individual effort. There was no free public instruction for many years. Private schools and academies were established but he who would enjoy their advantages must be willing to make the struggle. The conditions of the frontier and the traditions of the settlers long rendered public instruction inefficient and inadequate. The early misuse of the public lands, granted for the support of education, showed how little the need of education as a common policy was recognized by the legislators. After 1825, as the State became more of a unit, instruction was gradually organized on a more democratic basis and was more adequately provided for by State and local taxes.

Thus to Ohio came many different elements of population with various customs and beliefs. The isolation of one community from another, for many years made local inter-

ests dominant. The early separation of one individual from another made possible only a limited coöperation.

But it must be remembered that the people who moved into Ohio had many common ideas and purposes. Democracy and individualism were characteristic of most of the settlers. The environment placed a premium on certain personal qualities. Each settler valued highly the chance to succeed.

Coöperation, which began in the local group, was soon extended over wider areas. The spirit of independence became modified by the needs of larger communities. Ways of communication were developed between local units. The State finally took up the policy of internal improvements because it became clear that all sections would be benefited by a policy which one community could not carry out alone. The State as a whole promoted the organization and maintenance of a common school system when it was recognized that by this means the interests of all the communities would be better served. Industries, developing the natural resources, soon demanded protection by tariff legislation. Ohio's delegation in the House of Representatives was a unit in favor of the bills passed in 1816, 1824 and 1828.

Thus did common interests appear and coöperation spread over wider areas. Decentralization, which was natural for the early settlements, gradually changed into common action for certain ends, made necessary in order to realize the original purposes of the settlers. The extent of the coöperation and the methods of its realization were decided not by an aristocratic governing class but, through the forms of democratic government, by the people themselves.

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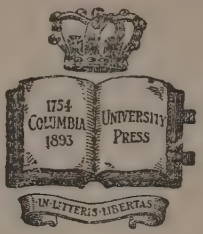

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